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A SURVEY OF PAINTING IN THE DECCAN

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT

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BY

ST. KRAMRISCH

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Mr. Percy Brown has kindly gone through the manuscript.

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PART I

AJANTA

A. PRINCIPLES

1. SPACE

Indian painting of the Ajanta type, known to us from the second to the sixth century A.D. (Pls. I—IV) is not conceived in terms of depth. It comes forward. It is not visualized as starting from a plane near to the spectator and leading away from him, but it departs from a level at the bottom of its visible expanse and from there it opens up and shows its contents simultaneously from within many compartments.

It does not lead away, but it comes forth. All other types of painting obey two possibilities. They treat the ground as surface and exist within its two dimensions, or they create, in one way or another, an illusion of leading into depth.

Painting in terms of surface however is the rule in the Deccan from the sixteenth century onwards. This vision as in Elura is forecast from the eighth century and earlier. Painting conceived in terms of depth does not exist in the Deccan, although from the sixteenth century onwards, contacts with Western painting introduce some of its spatial conventions.

The two modes of painting, the one in terms of surface, the other as in the Deccan during its most relevant phase, in the direction of forthcoming, do not aim at giving a picture of the world as it is beheld by the eye. Both show it as it exists in the mind. Painting in the direction of forthcoming will first be investigated as this di-

rection is the essential one of classical Indian painting, preserved as it is mainly in the Deccan.[1] It is moreover relatively the least exploited in painting outside India.

Viewed historically the two modes of painting, the one in the direction of forthcoming and the other in terms of surface, overlap after the sixth century. When the latter gains supremacy in the last phase of Deccani painting, strengthened by Turko-Persian confluences, it is upheld by an Indian past of long duration. The latter mode has to be referred to and defined with reference to the former.

The naive outlook on life depends on where one stands. From that standpoint things are seen. The prospect may include the near and the far, heaven and earth.

INTERNAL SPACE

With the Ajanta painter we look however into the opposite direction. Aware of ourselves as experiencing the world we turn back upon ourselves as the place which holds the world and there we behold it in a direction that does not lead away from us, but points back towards ourselves. We are stage and spectator of the world as we see and live it. There is nothing to lead us away into a distance outside ourselves and there is no room for nostalgia or perspective. There are no places to be gone to for they are all within us, seen, visualized and remembered. No time is lost, for it does not exist, to take us from the one to the next. Past and present events are there all together and nothing has happened which does not hold good and nothing holds good that will not endure. Memory transmutes time with a rhythm of simultaneous sequences on the stage which we ourselves make up and behold.

The world with its objects and events and their sequence in time are localized within ourselves. Memory assigns them their position

and the world picture is on view to our mind all at a time, as far as it matters. The stage on which the panorama is laid out does not exist apart from ourselves and its space is not external. We hold it — without pictures — in the hollow of our hand or in the cavity of the chest, a space within us. There it is not lit up by imagination nor is it charged with meaning. It fills the internal cavities and is part of our body. There is no such space if the hand is stretched out and the chest rent open.

Such a bodily experience of space actually or potentially within ourselves underlies the vision of space in paintings in the Deccan of the type of Ajanta. Primarily this space is not seen as is external space, the undefined. The latter yields the boundless symbol of the infinite and refers to it on a higher plane where bodies do not exist. The wide and open spaces beheld by the eye or felt to connote the infinite, have not entered painting as in Ajanta. Space there appears as a condition of the world of bodies, and what is situated in space makes up space itself. It has reciprocal reality and acts as a receptacle. The world is such a receptacle. It holds men, animals, gods and other "walks of life"[2]. They are all interlaced in a net-work. While they move in it, they knit its meshes. This receptacle is closely filled, each being has its definite residence and what separates them is the space, the condition itself which shows them as separate. This internal space of the world-receptacle has a substantiality of its own in function of its reciprocity with extended bodies. "Space is form and - - - - as space penetrates into form, form is space"[3]. The sensation of the internal space within our own living body is the analogy according to which the world is known to us, experienced and beheld within ourselves.

Space, a primary experience within our body simultaneously makes us aware of its limits and of external space, its wider correspondence. This vacuity, outside our body, is filled with air, and with

breath inside. While we think we breathe. During the movement of breath thoughts take shape. The painter thinks in pictures and when he paints them he shifts their stage from within his consciousness on to the other side of the limits of his body. He turns the figures around and also their whole setting so that they confront him. They have come out from his mind to be seen by his eye. The process of turning them round, turning the contents of his vision inside out is however a later stage of his work. It presupposes the "return" of his mind, at the moment of beholding the objective world as a manifestation of mind itself[4]. His consciousness returns towards itself with articulate vision and settles at the fringe of the vastness of mind where forms and names are not, the names and forms that now dwell there. These ultimately the painter projects on to the wall as in Ajanta ; steeped in colour the world as he knows it comes forward to meet his glance.

The wall paintings at Ajanta show the internal space[5] of consciousness and its contents. They are a picture of the world-receptacle[6] teeming with people, spirits and gods, their mansions, hermitages and pleasaunces, with their arising and then being dismissed from the vast store of the mind. This is their ground. Once arisen they take their proper place. This taking place of form, its progression from the storehouse of the mind into visibility, is painted in Ajanta in a direction which leads from within the picture outward.

THE DIRECTION OF FORTHCOMING

There is no background in the accepted sense and it is just from there whence all the visualized world proceeds, full of itself, with its bodies and their spaces, compact in its density. Its progression is uninterrupted in the simultaneousness of closely set scenes. They are shown as coming forth from within the storehouse of the mind and their movement in an outward direction proceeds in each case up to

the point where the one instant or scene of a story is strung together with the next in a sequence in which time has no share. Although many stories are painted, their course is not visualized. Such moments and scenes which endure in their importance throughout the story are laid out and are linked rhythmically. Rhythm sways the surfaces of the walls while it meanders across all the scenes, pregnant at any phase with the movement that started it. The scenes are threaded on it, poised. This movement is the web on the surface, and keeps it intact. Across this transparent web, we see the scenes. It cannot be removed without disturbing the process itself of scenes and figures coming forward from their starting point. While the painting as a whole appears to come forward with all its scenes in uninterrupted progression, the latter is closely bound together by the rhythms which play over the surface. The entire compact mass of the painting results from movement.

Its space is charged with directions. The major direction is the foreward movement and its origin is metaphysical. From beyond the world of bodies it sets them forth, each with its name and most of them have their shape while their form is produced as they come forward, along with and in-between the pillared palaces and pavilions and embracing as much space as each has body. The forward direction itself concreted into prismatic shapes is the principle according to which rocks are painted (Pl. I) when they show three surfaces, front, side and the bottom simultaneously of the single boulders, in contrasting colours and with a shading which gives volume towards the edges. Such rocks are grouped around caves and also serve as platforms for the figures. The blocks and the rafter like boulders come forward each with the energy of a train shown in a cinema with the ever growing engine coming larger and larger towards the spectator. Each has a special direction and this makes it detach itself from the neighbouring block with a maximum volume. Rocks appear cleft with their inside out; they push forward

and slide along like rafters or they settle in a stepped order. Wherever recesses open, human figures dwell, animals and trees. The constituents of this rock-architecture in the process of becoming are the single prisms or rafters and their reciprocal space-volumes. They have gained pictorial visibility by the mind of the painter placing itself behind the rocks and before they have come into existence. It produces the solid mass of the rocks by travelling inside and along each of their prisms layer by layer and in as many directions as will lead forward. The crystalline structure of the volume of rocks is built out of the directions forward which its shape has to traverse so as to acquire form on the stage on which play the scenes of the Ajanta paintings. These rocks are not described in any of the known texts on painting. They are, however, essential requisites. Their stereometry proceeds from points which have to be imagined behind the painting itself, where they lie hidden like the germs of things to come. Their stereometry is charged with the spell which shows their form in the making.

Adapted to the metaphysical movement and resulting in cubical shape is also the 'multiple perspective'. Not only the rocks but also houses and objects are painted as if seen simultaneously level with the eye and from above, or simultaneously level with the eye and from below (Pls. II and III)[7]. Things are actually not seen as they appear but imagined as they are. Not only Indian art shows three dimensional objects in this way. Functionally interdependent in the multiple view which they proffer, they are as closely knit in their meaning as they are in their connected forthcoming from within the unseen which discharges them compact in their balance across the levels of the painting so that they fill the entire stage. As a restrained mode of sculpture their colourful display within the outermost surface, i.e. that of the rhythmic web and the but fractionally visible innermost colour surface, comprises in its density the space held in-between them. The entire

I

SADDANTA JATAKA, CAVE X, AJANTA[8]

Copy of part of frieze.

The colours as they appear at present :

Rocks of the Suvarna ridge : front surface grey with yellow lines, or else whitish. The other surfaces are reddish brown. Other rock cubes are yellow or white with yellow, the cave in which the two figures are set is dark brown-red in its interior. The colours of Sonuttara, the hunter : reddish brown complexion, red turban, white coat with black stripes ; that of the other figures, including the second appearance of the hunter, is light yellow or grey with a black pattern[9].

The foliage is bluish green, shaded in colour, with young leaves, reddish. Modelling in colour is applied throughout. The light surface on either side of the rocks appears as a neutral ground. The upper edge of the dark portion below, does not indicate the horizon. In the subsequent scene curtains are suspended[10] and above them flowers appear scattered on the ground of the painting.

borderland of the mind with its contents is shown situated between the vertical plane of the inmost colour surface and the transparent rhythmical web of which the outer surface consists ; it is shown in the process itself by which it comes forth. Houses open like magical boxes. Without walls they hold their figures within the space marked by their pillars. None of them slips down or out of the picture. The rhythmical web which they themselves make up, keeps them in place.

Within the forward direction of movement and the space which it constructs, there is room also for backward movements. These however extend only as far as the forward movement allows, now here, now there, a shiver across its impact, a tendency to sink back into its origin. It remains in that stage and does not go further back carried as it is by the metaphysical movement of forthcoming. Elastically it is replete with its antagonistic tendency. The forward direction builds up the borderland space of these paintings. Within it figures may turn and move backwards or laterally. Every possibility of extension is held within this borderland. It is not to be seen as having dimensions. These paintings do not give an illusion on a flat surface, of the three dimensional conditions of concrete appearance or reality. They are precipitated from a reality teeming with possibilities of manifestation of which some are shown as they proceed from within it. This reality cannot itself be pictured. Formless it lies at the bottom, behind the entire display which it emits ; a fringe of its robe is held forth for the eye to view. It is beset in its entire width with receptacles of rock and house shape. Like magical boxes they show their contents which will not slip nor drop out of them if tilted.

THE DIRECTION OF FORTHCOMING AND ITS OBJECTS

With this forward movement the borderland is replete; while filling it with its objects such as palaces, pavilions, rocks and the many

figures which these hold, it makes itself the fabric of the fringe on which the many dwelling places are set as its building material. The space of this borderland is the visible outcome of the movement of forthcoming. Such visualisation of movement constructing existence has its mythical counterparts. Dancing, Siva creates and also destroys the world. Visnu with three strides takes possession of the universe. Their movement holds its space. The world is built out of movement. The Abhidharmakosa[11] for instance describes how the winds increase and finally they constitute the circle of wind. Then is born the whole receptacle, circle of water, the golden earth, the Mount Meru with its terraces, the palace of Brahma and then all the castles up to those of the Yamas, in all twenty two kinds of Devatas, dwelling in the world receptacle with definite residences. The entire world is brought about by movement, its structure with all the various levels of existence, and the beings in them all in their definite residences.

A. RECEPTACLES

The definite residence of every figure, group and scene is the visible unit within the borderland which fills the paintings. The borderland like a thick fringe slips forth in-between the slits of doors and curtains and any coloured surface, which leads from nameless plenitude at the back to the fulness of figures in front. They are contained within definite residences and these are stable receptacles for the manifestation of their activities and the part they act within the stories. Viewed however within the whole, their stability is relative and each scene and the place where it is enacted itself is part of, and goes to make up the forward movement. This movement persists even when it appears upheld in definite places on the slopes of Mount Meru. Such is the cosmographical aspect of the setting of the scenes at Ajanta. With palaces and rocks, the slopes of the world-mountain are covered.

Palaces and rocky scenery in their own small way act like magical

boxes. They hold the manisfestation of the activities of scenes and moments of many stories. Held and comprised within their receptacles, the movements of the actors are at liberty. Not only is the moment illustrated by telling gestures of figures which can be identified. By their movements and gestures the scene coheres and its constellation, its moment is caught within their movements and within the further direction of their movements beyond their bodies. With its direction every movement transcends its carrier; when men sit down to play a game (Pl. II) their position round the dice-board is assigned to them by their interest in each other and in the game and they show it by their movements and the way they are turned towards one another. The charged moment of their play is replete with such communication. Its threads are intangible but nevertheless conspicuous as directions from the one to the other and within the group which sets up its own space body, a reciprocal condition of their forming a group, and replete with directions, charged with them as the moment itself is fraught with meaning. Such are the contents of one magical box, and those of next may vary in theme but not in the manner of its presentation. Each box presents its contents. The bodily presence of the figures together with their movements, conditions, while it fills the actuality of the space within the magical box. No lids are required, for the contents exactly fill the place of their performance, and terrace or balcony, pavilion or hermitage fit the charged space as the glass walls of an aquarium hold the water within it with the fish, gravel and plants.

The receptacle and its contents cohere. Together they arrive on the scene and remain suspended by their impact at the spot where the meaning of the story will have it. In an extreme case in one painting of no great quality massive rock cubes are the requisite setting and are laid out in crystalline compounds to one side of a scene of cattle at rest ; two of the animals have got up at the appearance of Raksasas.

The neck of the one in back view is inordinately long[12]. It has become the receptacle of the space which the animal is bent on traversing across the hills and to this purpose its neck is stretched in the direction it means to take not only with eagerness but also in spatial anticipation of the distance 'to be covered'. It takes that distance into the disproportionately stretched length of its neck so that the crystalline arrays of rocks extend below on either side of the cow's shoulder and head. The error of making the body itself or part of it a receptacle of space other than which belongs to it is one of the most revealing blunders of an Ajanta craftsman. His mistake is set off by the tradition in which it has its place. He wrongly constructs on valid tracks when he exchanges the relative roles of space and volume.

While there are no massive front or side walls to the rooms in the Ajanta paintings, they are upheld by pillars. Their long verticals are carried like candles by the heavy horizontals of parapets and balustrades. Together they form systems of coordinates, and a separate one for each scene. Tightly, and definite in its frailty, each is raised above or by the side of another constellation. Balanced on multiple planes, at various phases of forthcoming, the several constellations are set each with reference to their coordinates. Like trays with tall candles their systems are balanced and viewed on the entire expanse of the painted wall they seem as if handed on from here to there.

The forward direction of the Ajanta paintings leads charged space within open receptacles visualized in multiple perspective across a borderland of which the outer limit is a transparent web of rhythms. Wholly continuous throughout its planes and levels, it is replete with dwelling places, a palace almost every one. This world truly is like a stage, like the city of the Gandharvas. It is neither existent nor non-existent[13].

Kant, viewing the Western position of art opposed the world as reality and the world as beauty. The latter he took to be the world of art inasmuch as it made concrete reality unreal. Such an unclothing of reality and its translation into beauty belong to a sphere altogether different from that of Buddhist or Brahmanical art in India. There, concrete reality itself is known as unreal and in this knowledge it is painted as it is known. It abides in the mind and is beheld by it.

The world itself is divested of its concrete reality. Such as is beheld is not separated from us, it is within ourselves, a reflection in a mirror, and in this indissoluble phantasmagoria of ourselves and the world there is no scope for shadows[14]. Similar is the vision in Hiuan-Tsang's Vijnaptimatratasiddhi[15]. It describes how the Bodhisattva introduces all "rupa", the visible world, the villages, mountains and so forth into his own substance in the presence of a large gathering which recognizes itself entered into his substance.

Such a mirage is made manifest, proceeding continuously and closely bound together within the borderland that extends from the colour surface of doors, screens, walls, and carpet like floors, forward to the interwoven web in which it is caught up transparent in the texture of flowing rhythms. Correlated to its plenitude, the narrow space in which its figures dwell is charged with their gestures and glances and with the intangible movements of their breathing and thoughts.

The visualized stage of these paintings extends from opaque planes denoting walls, doors, or at times a screen of verdure, to the web of rhythms in front. Fully rounded the figures hold their place by an instantaneous correspondence of their varied movements, within buildings or surrounded by rocks, on a ground strewn over with flowers in the borderland into which they have been dismissed

from the invisible and undefined. Each is set forth by the impact of the whole.

Still-life, "nature morte", is a branch of painting altogether unknown and alien to Indian art. Projected from within the mind and along with the other contents, inanimate objects share its movement and are part of its life. In living reality movement always goes on. It makes in the paintings its carriers appear divested of part of their weight, just as a dancer's movement gives to his body the sensation and appearance of lightness. No object figured in these paintings can be considered isolated and each is carried by its origin.

B. GROUP AND FIGURE

Groups are three-fold in their connections. In relation to the unformed they are its exponents; each group one whole within its setting of house or rocks. Within the borderland they are strung together by the rhythm of existence; each group moreover coheres by a participation of the figures which form it. Each figure however, once more and straightway is bodied forth by the impact of the unformed.

The group has not by itself come out from the unformed. It does so within and along with its receptacle. It may at times largely fill its extent as one cohesive massive (Pl. II, bottom on left); as a rule however the figures are more loosely set in loops and parabolic curves. In any case the impact from the ground is not guided along their limbs. The groups taken as a whole are freed from the forward direction for they dwell in and are supported by it. In its movement they are staid and yield themselves to the connections that bind them as inmates of the borderland. Still, in the way in which the figures are modelled, the impact is felt; they are 'bodied forth', embodied from within the coloured surface in three quarter profile view, in front or back view

and very rarely in pure profile. Their movements however are effortless. They well up from the deep, from the innermost foundation of life. Physiologically from the region around the hips, psychologically from the flowing wealth of the unconscious.

The inner world which dwells in the figures to the extent that they may entirely dwell within it, is their depth. From there their movements come forth. The way in which the human figures appear shaped in these paintings is analogous to the form itself of the entire painting.

The figures are brought forth and modelled by the impact from the deep. This is their sturdiness. But their agility, the bending and resilient curves are the oscillations of the rhythm of life in the guise of human shape. To allow them a smooth functioning the joints are of importance and most of all the hip joint, where all these figures, seated or standing have their centre of gravity. The knowledge which these figures have - for they embody it - is that of their depth. This is their secret.

The metaphysical movement has no share in the arrangement of the group - in respect to it the latter is a unit - while all the time it sustains every single figure in the well-being of its smooth shape. Every one of them holds its place in a twofold mission, as an exponent bodied forth into the borderland from the region which lies behind it, and as a part and passage of the movement itself within the borderland. By these two movements, one an impact, the other a rhythm, every figure is upheld. The architectonic receptacle or the one made of rock-boulders (Pls. II and III) hold the presence of the group, and the volume of body and limbs encompasses the single figure.

MUDRAS AND PHYSIOGNOMIES

Their movements are mudras, i. e. seals of contents which

they convey. Over and above this, they are charged with the non-communicable secret of being alive. Every body in those paintings has the face which belongs to it and the physiognomy of the different types extends from top to toe on all sides. As the faculties are and the mental disposition of a figure so are also its proportions and movements. The noble frame and face, and the poised gesture belong to the figures who are members of the 'family of nirvana'. To this the figures belong with the mental disposition, inborn and acquired as well, of attaining nirvana[16]. According to other and lesser inborn and acquired dispositions, membership of other and lesser families results and in conformity the figures look, move and act. A hierarchy of types assigns their appearance to the single figures of men and gods alike. Those are the most accomplished types where physiognomy is altogether built up by measure. It is the proportion of the gods, and the lower the type the less are body and face proportionate. The face of demons and their bodies are altogether disproportionate and distorted. This is their standard. Further specifications are the attributes due to country of origin and occupation. These however are secondary marks. With reference to every sphere none can be mistaken for anothing which he is not.

Truly at home in the borderland, the bodies with ample curves and volume, and the faces which are as much part of them as are the hands, consist of what a person sees, hears, feels, tastes and smells, of the outer world and within the body itself. Scholastic texts from the Mahavibhasa to Vasubandhu consider accordingly the objective world in the way it affects a human being, along with the sense organs in their connection with the objects and as supports of consciousness, as making up the body of a human being[17]. All this is painted and the figures participate in the constellation under which they have come together, and each preserves its integrity.

MODELLING AND ABSENCE OF SHADOWS

The integrity of the single figure with regard to the group or in whatever connection it may be shown is the index of its balance. It measures the distance the body maintains from the inner person and from the outer objects which in any particular connection also belong to it. No shadows intervene.

The borderland is a land of no shadows. It is bathed in the full light of the mind; no corner is dark and fully rounded each object shines forth, as illuminated as it is informed. Nowhere else in the world of painting are bodies fully shaded in their plastic modelling and yet they cast no shadows.

Shadows are accidents. They are moreover destructive of form while its integrity is as essential to the figures in the painting as their name is to them in the story. There is no source of light anywhere in these paintings. The figures carry it in the modelled colour of their bodies. A painter raises a painting[18], he gives life to the figures by modelling them, by rounding them off with shading in colour[19], tone and high lights. These are also raised and actually at times laid on with thick white colour.

The high light is the final mark of their mode of progression. It is neither derived from an outer source of light nor does it render the figures transparent. It makes complete their solid volume. The luminosity of the single figure does not extend further than its limits and belongs to its substance.

It corresponds to the opaque colour intensity of the ground beset with the light stars of uncounted flowers (Pls. II, III). They shine forth also like the gleam of the jewels worn by the figures. Whereas in sculpture the intricate carving of the jewellery sets off the smoothness of limbs, in that type of Indian painting which corresponds to it, the

high light of beaded and twisted strings of jewellery accentuates the modelling of the smooth skinned bodies.

Their attitudes are built upon the most complex relations with regard to their axis. Sitting or standing, their volumes sway around it. This swaying around the own axis is the mode in which the flux of life appears as personal grace in the single figures. Comprised within their ambient lines is the space between the axis and their limbs. It weighs on the hips of standing women, is hugged by seated figures, left behind and driven forwards by flying ones. Each figure in this way sets forth a volume of space which corresponds to its own. It is the counterpart of its rounded appearance and mobility.

The modelled volume however of the single figures is still more intimately bound up with the space that belongs to it. Modelled as if breathing, the air inhaled can be followed into the neck, heart, nombril, hips, thighs and down to the feet[20]. At the same time and within the space enclosed by or clinging to their modelled bodies they follow the exhaled air to the distance of the length of forearm and hand[21]. The living breath within the figure is shown in the modelling of the latter and still belongs to it outside the body in its corresponding space volume. The figures appear upheld in it and their massive bodies are relatively weightless. They breathe their life into the moment of their presence.

This is carried by the linear rhythm on the varied levels to which the single receptacles appear pushed forth, having reached their destination by the impact which sets them forth. Their presence is kinetic. Shuffled in layers, the receptacles intersect in the direction of forthcoming (Pl. II).

2. LIMITS

OUTER LIMIT AND RHYTHM

The veil of rhythms, the plane most exteriorized, is not torn anywhere. It is kept in position by the impact of houses and scenes. They are set forth from a region behind the coloured ground. The spectacle takes place on a well defined stage. There are in fact as many stages as there are scenes and that each scene has its place makes the consistency of this edifice all on different levels. The scenes being open, abandoned as they are to be looked at, not only from the front, but also laterally, are permeated by a connecting rhythm. Its movement, more than any balustrade, maintains the integrity of the scenes and prevents them from appearing as if spilled or shed from within the painting. The whole painting is beheld as one spectacle and it always remains at the same distance. These paintings cannot be entered by the eye from the front and traversed in the third dimension for the fact that their impact is too great ; all of them while they open in front are activated by an even and imperceptible but unrelenting pressure. Where the painting stops, this pressure which shuffles forward its rooms, ceases. It is here that the height of the painting, its imaginary foremost surface, is reached.

Having come forth from the storehouse of consciousness, the pictures are fully laid out and their sequence is not in the direction of time. The 'multiple perspective' does not refer to space alone but equally applies to time. The scenes are not shown in the sequence in

which they happpened and from whatever episode narration proceeds, past and future are equally present. They are present in the mind and there they are stored, and when they step out into appearance they are remembered. "Manas is the consciousness of the preceding moment"[22] and it supports the consciousness of the coming moment. In this way the three are linked in their simultaneous forthcoming into the field of visualized projection. Through the functioning of "manas" they cohere rhythmically, the end is in the beginning and the stream of consciousness flows steadily and unbroken. Wherever the eye rests on the surface of these paintings it is compulsorily carried along, for beginning and end are in every one of their instants or points. Rhythm is not confined within any group, scene or sequence of scenes. In its main cascades it floods the walls from left to right in oblique and wide open arches, while others, cast in the opposite direction cross them and both have loops in common, eddies and rests. Those are brought about by an interaction of the metaphysical direction. Single figures are the points of crossing between the linear rhythm, the movement of existence confined to the borderland itself and the forward movement, the metaphysical direction which leads from beyond, i. e. behind the borderland, across it and up to its foremost limit.

Nor are the linear rhythms ever exposed, embodied as they are from figure to figure, in their plastic shapes. The space bodies are equally traversed by them. For the borderland is held in position by the rhythmic flux of existence. The widely flung curves across the vertical plane of the paintings make them cohere in the surface. They are drawn with such largess that they quietly guide the eye across the tension of the single scenes which they connect without being affected by them. These curves are invariably slow in their ascent and in their ebbing away. They have to be considered, far more than figures, groups

and scenes as the ultimate performers on the painted stage of the Ajanta walls. They sum up figures, groups, and scenes. They allay their many directions while they pass across every one of the phantasmagoric rooms and connect them. As far as these leisured curves are concerned, the folding screen scaffolds which divide the scenes are traversed and carried by them to the same degree as the single constellations within the space volumes in which the scenes are enacted ; partitions do not stay this major movement. Surging and sinking, it is the incalculable discipline and times the painting according to one standard. Any movement of figures or groups, be it pensive or agitated takes place within its measure. No agitation accelerates nor does lack of gesture frustrate the rhythmical movement. Figures shown rushing (Pl. III) appear upheld in their movement ; direct and purposive as it is, it appears as if this were not the real movement but only a quiver quickly arising and quickly extinct.

The metaphysical direction may be taken to be the visual analogy of 'cetana', the active force which directs consciousness and the linear rhythm equivalent with 'samtana', the consistent movement of life. The latter fills the borderland with its current. Within waves of fluctuation the objects are set forth from a ground. Its opaque surface, the plane of forthcoming or of reflection is the coloured wall of the storehouse of consciousness. With innumerable and fluffy pinheads of flowers this common ground of unfoldment is held in position, a magic carpet throughout the scenes. Lightly are the figures borne by it. None there is who would tread upon the flowers with his gross weight. This has been transmuted in every figure before its coming into appearance, into flowing outlines and a round modelling carried by the rhythm of life and it is this which passes over the blossoming ground with a tread which leaves no impress.

UPPER LIMIT (CEILING)

The magic borderland of the paintings has its place on the walls of the caves. It does not extend to the ceilings. These are bedecked with paintings ; flowers and fruits[23], scroll-work, animals and scenes squarely fit into small sized panels and the large circles of dome like centres. Here the limit is definite and the memory of structural ceilings determines the lay out of those cut in the rock. Architectural memories are met with the resources at the disposal of the painter of the borderland. The mythical figures and the few scenes up there betray by modelling and colour the country of their origin. They conform to a plan whereas on the walls they bring it about themselves while they are part of it. Exposed from within the borderland they rest on the surface and within neat limits of the ceiling. It is in a playful spirit that they appear high up there, samples of the painter's art in an architectonic fancy.

Neither forthcoming nor a metaphysical direction can be seen in these circumscribed and well filled panels. The 'city of the Gandharvas' does not extend over a horizontal expanse. The slopes of Mount Meru are peopled in a vertical sequence of terraces and the plane of reflection, like a mirror is set up vertically. The metaphysical direction has no downward impact. The beyond lies at the back of all form, not above it, and sets it forth. It does not emanate into form. In that case form would be altogether weightless and static.

INNER LIMIT AND COLOUR

Where the ground of the paintings on the walls is not covered by figures, it shows itself as a surface, as that of houses, screens or door openings for example, while for the largest part and with the help of the multiple perspective it is the ground itself on which the figures stand and act. Slanting, for it lies also on the slopes of Mount

and its surface is moss green, or Indian red or deep purple and is bestrewn with flowers. They grow in the open and are scattered across the floors of rooms and verandahs. In every case their light stars with a feathery grace from the deeply coloured surface of the ground to the vertical wall of the cave. There it is kept in position ; saturated with colour it emits the ripe roundness of the figures and covers all that lies in the region behind them and from where they have originated.

While the outer limit, the veil of rhythms, is transparent and shows the borderland coherent in their order, the inner limit is opaque. Charged with colour, as the space of the borderland is charged with directions, it is at the same time the ground from which the figures arise in their plastic forthcoming as form and the floor or ground on which they are seen standing as figures. Ground and support in a dual sense, it becomes one in appearance and meaning if the scenes are beheld playing on the slope of Mount Meru. Such a view is afforded by the mythical world picture and actually the borderland holds a view of existence itself, that is to say of mind itself with its contents. They are tangibly exposed from within a depth which cannot be seen. It can be surmised from the colours with which its surface is saturated. The visible world, the borderland is painted as a manifestation of mind itself. With all its objects exposed the latter lies itself with eyes closed, behind the saturated colour surface with flowers strewn all over it.

The saturated colour of the ground is the smooth surface of the invisible reservoir of form. Colour is that visible quality which is nearest to its nameless condition. Across the coloured ground and from the unfathomed depth behind, its contents become tangible on being set forth. They are connected from the origin, supporting in every point, the rhythm of the whole. The scenes (Pl. II) with their figures are carried high or low, to the top or bottom and they do not leave existence[24], which is painted as a land between rhythms and

colours. In this insoluble connection, rhythm or line is the exposed or outward quality of form and colour is the inward quality of form.

The storehouse of consciousness[25] admits nothing outside itself while it is never spent in the wealth of its manifestations. It is of one kind, always uninterruped, firm as the corn of Sesamum which takes the scent of flowers or as the fabric which takes colour. The visualized equivalent of the fabric which takes colour is the coloured ground of the painting.

The visible, according to Abhidharmakosa, is colour and shape[26] and the Sautrantikas held that colours alone are realities and the shapes constructions of the mind, superimposed upon colour as an interpretation.

Colour occupies the first place along the metaphysical direction of the forthcoming of form. It is the ground, opaque and saturated. Shape is bodied forth from it. It is secondary in the ontology of the paintings. Technically however, the outlines are drawn first and then only the colour is applied. This process of demarcation is necessary in order to allot to colour its position, in plots. These in the next step taken technically are modelled in colour and tone[27], by dots, cross lines (patra) and wash (?)[28] and it is then that shape comes forth where figures necessitate it, whereas elsewhere the coloured ground remains flat, charged with its own density and beset with the light dots of flowers. Behind it, in the storehouse of consciousness the whole universe of objects lies, indiscriminate and with its eyes closed. The charged density of the colour lies still while it flickers nameless with uncounted flowers where it is the ground on which the figures stand and which also extends behind them, in scenery and dwelling place. Behind and below are frequently coterminous and actually these relations do not exist in the paintings. The ground preserves its nameless density irrespective of its situation. When finally the outlines are drawn once more on top

of the first lines of demarcation, then only do they give definition and precise name to the figures. Before this is done, the process of modelling within the figure fulfils, in relation to the charged colour surface, a function analogous to that of the flowers which flicker up as coloured dots where no outlined and modelled shapes are.

"Some make of the empyrean which appears like a wall of lapis-lazuli, a colour", says the Abhidharmakosa. Its undefined expanse is viewed as compact. Its substance is colour. The Abhidharmakosa words adequately and more comprehensively than the technical treatises, the function of colour as it was felt, not only in Buddhist India[29]. Indefinite extensiveness is compressed into an intensity for instance into the deep and saturated colour of lapis-lazuli. Space accordingly is a certain category of substantial colour[30]. Colour in painting holds space[31].

No vague distance, no haziness is compatible with this space. It is transmuted into the opaqueness of colour. The cavity or void is called the element space. This, one says, is light and darkness. The cavity or void of the door, of the window, etc., is the external element space and this is contrasted with the internal space in the cavities of the human body. The extensiveness of space is compressed into colour. It has 'body' or substance. The space in-between the modelled volumes of figures acquires compactness of colour and against its foil they are set off.

Space thus appears in a dual mode in the paintings. Contingent inasmuch as it is built up by, and contains the figures as they are bodied forth; and in its own pictorial form, i. e. compressed into the charged density of the colour surface. The latter, of necessity, has no exact position 'in space' being itself a mode of visualizing space as if within the void of a door, and free of figure. The colour surface is the surplus of 'space'. As much of space is condensed in it as is not

the counterpart of volume. In the borderland which has come forth from the storehouse of consciousness it fills for instance the void of the door, as part of the plane of reflection. From there, on the hither side, form is made manifest. The anonymous and protean quality of the ground of the paintings makes possible the forthcoming of contingent form. Substantial with colour the texture of the ground is akin to that of modelled form to be laid out on it.

Innumerable are the tones of colours. Pure colours occur and are enumerated in the texts. These dwell at length on the secondary colours and their untold and tempered varieties. In the paintings they glow with an intensity which has substance, topas dark or monkey dark, lotus flower blue or blue-neck bird blue[32]. Modelling moreover is also done in colour. It makes crystal-cold the rock, blood-warm the human figure, turgidly cool the plants. The temperature, the solid or liquid state yield colour, which is the intensity of the body. These colours are not symbolical. They are not of the appearance, but of the nature of the objects. Mind born they are and, when visualized, substantial. This peculiar quality is at one with the modelling itself of the shapes. As the adept is said by an intense application of the mind (adhimukti) to be able to change the great elements, earth, water and so on, the one into the other and colour and figure into sound, resolving the gross into the more subtle[33], so does the painter absorb in colour the sensible qualities and substance of things.

Substantial colour shining forth with its impact, in classical Indian painting corresponds to the text of the sixth Prapathaka of the Chandogya Upanisad of which the fourth Khanda starts with saying :

"What is the red quality (rupa) of fire, that is the (intrinsic) form of light (tejas), what is the white quality of fire, that is the (intrinsic) form of water, what is the dark quality of fire, that is the (intrinsic)

form of earth. (Thus) has vanished the fire-universality of fire. - - - What is real is the three intrinsic forms"[34].

Red, white and dark neither designate nor describe brilliance, wateriness and solidity. They are one with these qualities. They are spoken of as "rupa", intrinsic form. This intrinsic quality invests with substance the colours in the paintings.

Colour as intrinsic form is analogously worded in the Kathavatthu where it is said that the visible material, visible object and element as such is either blue-green, yellow, red or white, is cognizable by the eye, impinges on the eye[35].

The Visnudharmottara distinguishes between the twofold possibility of every colour, the dark and the light[36]. The quality of darkness is that of compactness or substantiality and the quality of lightness (aloka) is of the light of the moon, stars, fire, herbs and gems[37]. These twofold possibilities are present in the opaque and yet luminous colour of painting as in Ajanta, Bagh, Badami, etc. They refer to colour itself and to shape which is raised into appearance[38].

Colour is the place of transformation from the invisible to the formed. Its quality is an intensity and by itself it has no defined extension. As non-existence is considered by Indian thinkers to be grasped by the senses through a special contact[39], the invisible storehouse of consciousness makes its presence felt to the painter by a substantial sheet of colours which rises into his field of vision. It is firm and charged with its contents and exposes them tangibly, i. e. plastically. The variegatedly coloured ground is the first specification of the totality from which the multiform world of the paintings arises.

But ground and figures cannot be imagined separately. The role of the ground is twofold ; it is a phase prior to and itself containing the figures in their passage from the formless to form. According, on

the other hand, to the multiple perspective it appears as meadow, or as the floor of rooms and terraces and also as their wall, screen and door[40]. It is manifoldly one with the figures, in their progression and as condition of their appearance. The figures inhere in it in the process of forthcoming and they are projected at the same time and dismissed into the borderland, i. e. into the space of the painting itself. The ground is but a visualized phase of the painting acquiring form. From the outset it has no reference to any visible reality. The process itself of the painting acquiring form makes the setting of the painting. The coloured ground, besides, acts as a sheet of refraction. Up to it from the fathomless beyond forward, there was no possibility as yet for the painting to come into existence. While the painter is himself aware of the picture arising in him, his experience of himself simultaneous with and at one with the vision, makes the ground which cannot be severed from the picture in the making. This awareness of himself cannot be given a name. It is immediate and becomes the colour ground from which the figures arise. In itself it has no definite shape. It is an intensity and across it the figures condense in substantiality and appear fully rounded in front of it.

Neither is it a barrier nor does its colour taint that of the figures. The movement of forthcoming passes across it as water runs through a sieve. The colour ground is the plane of intervention in the process and form of the picture. The storehouse of consciousness, nameless and formless and teeming with all the possibilities of form, lies on one side and is invisible; its contents within their special condition, i. e. with their setting, appear in front of the colour ground. For consciousness as it is painted here is not split into two parts; process and content conform.

The forward movement within the visualized borderland of consciousness, i. e. within the painting is metaphysical. Rhythmical, i. e.

compositional movement as well as the movement of the figures have to be distinguished while yet they are connected with it. The painter puts down in visual terms that reality which he carries within himself. When painting it, he transfers it to the wall, or whatever surface. This is made congruous with the ground of reflection which his awareness of himself provides. In this way the painting remains within its natural place. The figures in it belong to some extent to the external world although none of them is brought from there into the painting by a separate observation.

THE OBJECTS BROUGHT INTO THESE LIMITS

That sight goes out to the object, seizes it and brings it back, refers to Indian sculpture as far as it is modelled. Sculpture and plastic form in India do not always result from the same visualization as painting. History confirms it. Where sculpture in India in its plastic quality no longer is productive, specially in western India after the twelfth century, painting almost totally devoid of any plastic factor, is strong with its own means, line and colour. The plastic quality to some extent preserves in its form the impress of contact. By it the external world is transmuted. The quality of Indian sculpture and also of painting such as in Ajanta which gives a large share to the modelled body in colour and shading, is due to some extent to tactile memory residues at work within the part seen of the storehouse of consciousness. This aspect too, comes forward and is swelled from within into smooth shapeliness. Only living sap distends form so evenly and rounds off limbs and bodies, columns and the stems of plants in the paintings. The condition of the waters underlies their fluid shape and grace.

Exposed from within consciousness, the space of the paintings has no externality. It has the dimension of the mind and is reflected

with its contents from the colour ground of the wall. To that space the many figures are adjusted inasmuch as they themselves have brought it about. Their origin too, they do not leave behind the saturated ground whence they have come forward ; they keep on showing this in their demeanour and appearance, in the way they seem pushed forward and held each in its proper place by the movement itself that has set them forth. This gives them a likeness and coherence. They are kept in suspense, in a charged atmosphere which they themselves create by the movement which in them comes to act. It distends their surface into plastic roundness. The saturated quality of the ground, its colour, discharges its potentialities into the manifold movements which fill the space of the paintings. Still, flowers strewn between the figures, on the ground, into the crevices of the rocks and across them restore the peace of the surface to this dense crop of volumes which fills the space of the paintings. Over this flowery ground a web is cast of rhythms. This too levels the figures which have been bodied forth.

Figure next to figure, as they detach themselves from the ground, they carry their impact one step further, an indefinitely graded step, when all their movements of forthcoming are interlaced in a web of rhythms. It keeps them from falling out of this enchanted borderland.

There they exist, each of them doubly connected with the other one, caught within the web of rhythms which they uphold while they are sent forth albeit to a varying height, yet from one and the same ground and with an equal impact. The movement which sets them forth and sustains them in the forward direction does not belong to any one of them. It is their metaphysical direction and within the web of rhythms their movements severally are in consonance. Pattern and gestures are cognate and must not be severed.

The charged precision of the movements of the hands has given them the name of "mudra," i. e. seal. It means to communicate its intention. So also is the whole of the painting a "mudra", charged with impact and gravid with the meaning which it communicates. On this seal the rhythms are drawn. They show the pattern according to which the borderland is displayed.

Its closed world is situated in the internal space of the mind in which participation, observation and tactile memories play their important and yet subordinate parts.

It is the test of a good, i. e. 'auspicious' painting if the figures appear as if breathing[41]. The ups and downs, the hills and vales of the modelling of living figures are the visible outcome of, and are held in shape by breathing. The dead are without movement and corpses lack resilience. Breathing, the craftman participates in the form which he paints.

The living world where rocks too are felt as "jiva", endowed with life, is only quasi-external[42]. It exists inwardly and is grasped with a simultaneous awareness of its whole substance. An all-round modelling verifies in every instance that life has shaped the whole of the tree, or of any other figure. Magically the eye is fastened on its surface and notices that as the figure is shaped, so also does it move : the turgid banana leaves when others ramble, crisp and curly lancets (Pl. III). Shape and movement are beheld as different phases ; shape belongs to the past and yet the living breath sustains it and casts its mould afresh incessantly.

Plastic volume and life movement are the conditions under which the quasi-external world is beheld. Such participating seeing is not a creative act on the side of the craftsman. It is the mode in which the world is felt and known in ancient India prior to and apart from his work. Within it, however, it assumes its proper place. Metaphysical movement,

the impact from within his consciousness propels while further inflating the plastic volumes into the dense web of the painting. This web has the fleeting rhythm of life. It takes as its own and into its wide curves the movement of every figure. Such is the situation of the borderland, the part seen and painted of the storehouse of consciousness. Every part is the visible outcome of its own origin and carries in its own manner the whole.

LATERAL LIMITS

The major part of the wall paintings at Ajanta are without a frame (Pl. II)[43]. They extend all over the walls and as far as these go. That the wall has to come to an end and actually is of limited extent, the paintings do not convey. It has not entered their structure. They cover the walls entirely and one and the same subject may begin on one wall and be continued on the adjacent one, at an angle of ninety degrees and there is no break in the continuity of the picture. Far from being architectonically conceived, they harbour their own consistency and leave no room for anything outside themselves on walls, ceiling and pillars. The only outside they admit is the void of the cave, which is held by their figured presence on all sides. So is also the mind of the devotee who has entered the cave and beholds them.

Few scenes or figures appear in panels, forming to some extent, limited compositional units[44]. They are painted on pilasters. The painted wall sometimes is ended by carved and painted figures[45]. These compositions however are seemingly only concluded within themselves. Actually they are arranged in pairs facing one another. Their setting of rocks or pavilions with the multiple perspective shows them forthcoming within magically widening receptacles without front and side walls. By referring to one another and by bordering on sculpture on which the modelling of the figures verges anyhow, they

are brought into a context in which is comprised the space receptacle itself of the cave. It ends where the web of rhythms screens off the paintings.

The setting of the scenes and the groups in which they are displayed carries with it the frame of each constellation. Its shape is a system of co-ordinates brought about partly by the bordering outlines of the scenes next to it, laterally as well as above or below. Parapets intersect at right angles (Pl. II). Such intersections of vertical and horizontal fleetingly fix points. The crux is laid now here, now there instrumental in building the architecture of the city of the Gandharvas[46]. It must be imagined as consisting of frameworks only and their positions appear as if incessantly re-shuffled while the figures within their compartments remain unperturbed.

Not on one level but throughout the thickness of the borderland are the co-ordinates interlaced. The city of the Gandharvas is ordered throughout. Around each single cross a new constellation of figures is wreathed and in its turn links up with those near by. The co-ordinates are not always 'architectonic' in shape. The vertical of a thin pillar for instance is continued by the massive legs of a watchful horse (Pl. II). Horizontals and verticals have an equal share in this weightless system of co-ordinates. It maintains as much balance as it imparts stability to the changing scenes steadily laid out. It is relevant mainly in the forward direction. In the linear composition, connecting rhythms take it for granted and wreathe their patterns around. The rectilinear order belongs to the metaphysical movement of the paintings. It does not enter, while yet it sustains, flowing rhythms. This rectilinear order is condensed in the formula of the rocks. With them its framework is given substance. There is no room for jungles. Nature in these paintings embodies order. Rich in sap and with a delicate movement vegetation is assigned its place (Pl. III). Clouds too have their allocation.

Cusped and voluminous their vaporous bodies tower above rocks, above the tilted bottom of magical receptacles on the slope of Mount Meru.

II

VIDHURAPANDITA JATAKA (Left part), CAVE II, AJANTA[47].

In this part of the painting, the figure of the magic horse is shown carrying the action from scene to scene. It is turned hither and thither, a link between the several compartments, shuffled the one into the next, along the direction of forthcoming. It is shown flying through the air and over the vaulted roof of a high building and the rocking horse stillness of two more of its appearances in this part of the painting functions as part of the rhythm of the simultaneous lay out of the story.

The main group to the utmost left, makes a kind of ellipsoid ; it fills the compartment diagonally, from the corner of the parapet 'above' on the right, with the figure of Vidhurapandita squatting in front, to the corner of the balustrade 'below' on the left. Similarly also the 'gaming hall', intersected by a corner of the first appartment, is full of an elliptical grouping of all its figures and in a corresponding direction.

The standing figure of Purnaka, in the first scene is apart from the main group and connects this scene vertically, and with the help of the pillar below, with the compartment beneath it. Its forward bending movement is reiterated by Purnaka squatting in the second scene, near the pillar on the right, where also the vertical direction is upheld. It rests in either case on the broad horizontal of the wall, and is further strengthened by many more verticals.

At the same time, co-ordinates and ellipsoids are traversed by large rhythms ; the two main compartments by a rising arch from the corner on the left to the highest figure of a king in the compartment on the right ; another arch parallel with it, carries the two appearances of Purnaka, and a third, once more parallel runs across the figure of the queen in her own compartment with her

attendant, and across that of the magic horse turned to the right, into a subsequent scene which plays in the pillared hall of the residence of the Naga king (only part of one figure is shown in the reproduction, to the utmost right).

Simultaneously these widely flung arches are crossed by others in the opposite direction ; one comprises the horse turned to the left, and the figures of Purnaka, the squatting minister and king Dhananjaya, in the first compartment ; another passes the horse turned to the right and the 'gaming hall' in a parallel sense. These movements are not confined within the several compartments and are shown in this part reproduction in one or several phases only of their course. The smaller and the wider rhythms are inter-knit, and where a point is fixed by their crossing, it is also carried in more than one direction. Paradoxically complex, the coherence of form defies a reduction to one or the other scheme of composition. The scenes below, again are similarly connected amongst themselves and with those above.

B. PHASES

CAVES IX AND X

Half a millenium of pictorial tradition, albeit preserved incompletely in the paintings of Ajanta, Bagh, Badami and other cave temples and monasteries, appears recumbent on one tradition. Consistently and across the centuries the elements are maintained and enlarged upon. The earliest paintings which are preserved may be assigned to approximately 100 A. D. and they follow principles analogous to those of the reliefs of Sanci and Amaravati, for example.[48] The scant number of wall paintings preserved and known hitherto, precludes the attribution of this type of painting to the Deccan exclusively[49]. At present the term Deccani can be applied to this tradition in a certain geographical sense only, as wall paintings of a subsequent phase from South India (Sittanavasal[50] and Tirumalaipuram[51], seventh century ; Kailasanatha temple Kancipuram ; Brihadisvara Temple, Tanjore, twelfth century[52]) in the main, though with a hardened outline, are based on a similar vision[53]. At the moment when by favourable accident parts, however precariously preserved[54], are left and we can discern them, their maturity is on a level with contemporary sculpture. They do not mark a beginning. As far as they are preserved, they run in friezes and are held by panels. The mode of setting forth a Jataka story, is one of compartments within an oblong frieze (Pl.I). The 'walls'of these compartments come forward at various angles from the ground of the

painting. The Saddanta Jataka[55] in cave X contains an elephant frieze akin in density and relief to similar scenes in Sanci. It is a version in painting of such carved and modelled groups. The animals are modelled in colour in a dense variety of positions. The thin and hanging roots of the Nyagrodha tree interfere more intimately perhaps than a sculptor would have had it, with the bulk of elephantine bodies (Pl. I). The leaves are shaded in colour, in various greens and the young leaves reddish, a mode of painting foliage which in the sixteenth century has an equally fresh pattern[56].

It is however only to the right of this tree, that the painting, with means of its own, amplifies the range of relief treatment. A phantasmagoria of rocks wells forth in diagonal direction. Sculpture does not know such voluminous and varied conglomerations[57]. Some of the single boulders of trabeate cast have their front surface grey with yellow streaks, the other surfaces variously reddish brown. There are whitish rocks too, and the whole in its own way builds up the stratification of bare rocks. A compact of stone-logs slants across the painted frieze, its driving power cut off at diverse vertical planes and exposed with a colour of its own and a modelling. The latter does not round off a shape. It exposes a texture, in the sense of a repleteness of form with the principle which, while building up the form within definite outlines, makes it full of itself. Crevices and caves are filled with a void similarly banked. Appropriately a tree sallies forth, sleek and undulating with sap, verdure and birds perched, smug. In its swaying movement the driving power of the rock phantasmagoria is transmuted and deflected upwards, from the forward thrust. To some extent such formations, bare boulders of stone, are peculiar to the country in several places in the Deccan, around Hyderabad for instance where stray rocks, barren and massive, are cleft of a sudden by the growth of one or the other tree with glossy leaves. In Ajanta itself

the hills are mild and wooded. They were not exposed, except by the craftsmen who excavated the caves.

The story of the Saddanta Jataka is shown from right to left and then again from left to right[58], and the hunter who on the right is deputed to kill the six-tusker has gone out on his errand on the left (Pl. I) amidst the rocks and has returned, in a scene painted between the two scenes mentioned and on the other side of the rocks, with the signal weight of the tusks as if on scales, to the queen who had asked for them and seeing them, faints. Beyond these scenes, on the extreme left, are painted the elephant scenes.

The hunter, his companion and a maid in waiting are arrayed in a diagonal, parallel to the forthcoming of the rocks (Pl. I). Once more and parallel to this their appearance, they stand before the royal couple enthroned. A group of trees set equally slanting across the breadth of the scene marks the third 'wall' against which the current of the story is stemmed. Between these compartmental walls[59] which partly themselves are made up of the figures of the story, of the hunter and others, or the royal couple enthroned, groups cohere, rows of figures one behind the other and parallel, or else parabolically and diagonally connected so that each compartment or receptacle aslant between its two lateral and figured walls is replete itself with figures in the direction of forthcoming.

The ground in part is coloured in horizontal stripes not meant to indicate the horizon. The division of the ground by two or three horizontal bands of colour is peculiar also to paintings of cave XVII for example, where the ground in the Saddanta Jataka is streaked reddish, brown and greyish, between palace and elephants. The painted frieze in cave X with its scenes, is part of the borderland of the mind. It is unrolled ribbon like with all the scenes present in one lay out while its setting implies the depth from which it is forthcoming, precipitated

into cubical compartments meted out across the width of the band ; its charge in front of a coloured and nameless ground fills the compartments in parabolic curves or straight rows parallel with the edge of the frieze, or else in parabolic curves or loops laid in the forward direction ; all of these are held within the partitioning walls built of rocks, groups, clusters of trees, etc.

To bring forward into the field of mental vision and to people the slopes of Mount Meru, two methods of grouping are resorted to. The elephant group of the Saddanta Jataka in cave X, for instance or the figures of men (devatas ?) in cave IX[60] who are shown approaching a stupa within a walled quadrangle, altogether fill the part of the frieze allotted to them. In superimposed rows and in a manner corresponding to relief tradition they are given form. They are visualized in a final stage of forthcoming. Their full mass issues up to the outermost plane. There they are arrested, painted in relief and mostly in three quarter profile on the ground whence they have come forth. The other mode visualizes the scenes in an earlier moment of forthcoming and in the process itself, arrayed within cubical compartments with walls aslant across the width of the painted frieze. They are emptied out into visibility while they are held in the strictly defined realm of the painted band. This mode of visualisation is also familiar to sculpture specially at Amaravati[61]. The two modes alternate in the painted friezes of caves IX and X[62]. Their juxtaposition however is elastically consistent. Viewed as a whole, and it is meant thus to be seen, the story now bounces forward and then again the impact is relaxed and room is made for other scenes. The mass of shapes, herd of elephants or procession of human figures are entirely dismissed into the plane of visibility and they cover completely the ground. The interplay of action, on the other hand, in contrast to this form of corporate activity, has

its own stage. On it the impact is made to halt. Such cubical compartments contain each a significant moment within the story. The latter is laid out breadth-wise across the ups and downs, the hills and vales of its course. In cave IX, the part of the frieze still left has two rows of human figures, superimposed. From the stupa quadrangle which they approach, a gate leads into another enclosure with trees and buildings[63], by the side of which once more are human figures superimposed. The quadrangle with the two lateral walls slanting in either direction seems to empty its contents, forwards on its sloping ground, from back to front. A figure with a tray of offerings is shown in the gate on the way to the stupa. The figure in the gate is one of the generally employed requisites to show connection or separation of the scenes. It acts in the sense of direction and, as a rule, laterally in-between the single scenes. It appears arrested in the momentariness of its movement, on its way from one compartment to the next. It closes a scene or story when it stands at the gate, a guardian. Similarly also other figures turned this or that way at a corner or near the edge of a scene act as a full stop or else they lead from one scene to the next. Themselves of little consequence in the story, they usher in its current in the way it wants to go.

Of a building two sides are drawn into view, besides the top, while the stereometry of rocks adds the bottom surface to the two sides. This elasticity in beholding the extensiveness of volumes, is not tantamount to a change of view-points and this perspective has no reference to things unfolded before the physical eye. While the mind dwells on the volume of a house, the roof is an integral part. Rocks however are understood as part of the earth and potential holders of caves. According to its function, each is shown in due manner. All the other figures are also fully 'bodied forth'. Much experience in colour modelling goes to their making. The modelling capacity of the

line is equally known.

With eyes wide open, and mildly expressive of emotional states, the figures are not in touch with one another. Distinct in their appearance with a high or low class physiognomy[64], and the appropriate complexion and costume, they are made to act at some higher order, aloof the one from the other even where they are placed closely together. Their reference is to the context and not to one another.

Smoothly the sturdy figures carry out their movements. With their large heads and turbans, they are near in appearance to figures as carved in Sanci. A reticent sleekness levels the manifold types and their movements.

Two modes of visualisation appear side by side, the one of the type of reliefs as in Barhut, and to a considerable extent also in Sanci, the other of cubical conception[65]. They visualize degrees of forthcoming. The former mode belongs to the past and does not appear in subsequent paintings of the Ajanta type. The latter, of which the rocks are emblematic and the function they fulfil, along with the cubical compartments which empty their contents into the forward direction, are among the leading exponents of painting as in Ajanta. The metaphysical direction, i. e. that of forthcoming is seen at work in them. The rhythm according to which the several compartments are linked is that of the wavy line of unbroken flux. Its emblem in the shape of a lotus stalk can be seen rambling across Jataka scenes carved on the coping stone of the Barhut railing. The 'composition' is based on the two comprehensive factors, of forthcoming and of rhythm. The modelling of the figures, in that it bodies forth the figures with a rounded and voluminous appearance, is an aspect of the working of the metaphysical direction. The smooth contour of rounded limbs and the flux of movements are aspects of the living rhythm which percolates the whole painting in every part.

These main trends of form, however, carry figurines and they respond restrainedly and with shyness to the principles laid down for their appearance. Without their being aware of it they follow an order and act their part ; viewed from paintings of later phases, below its level. The human figures throughout as painted in caves IX and X are an outcome of the vision which had precipitated their dense rows into the surface in the manner of earlier reliefs from Central India[66]. This discrepancy in the conception of the paintings on the one hand and the relative immaturity of the figures on the other would justify these paintings being called comparatively early, in view also of the later correspondence of identical means of 'composition' and the type of figures through which it then finds its more specified utterance.

It takes time for a vision to mature and to manifest all its possibilities. Centuries lie between the work in caves IX and X and the paintings of caves XVI and XVII. As aspects of one unanimous tradition they show the essential formulations in different stages. The bands in which formerly the stories were laid out have broadened on the whole to the full width and length of the entire wall ; as long as the wall continues, the paintings go on and one scene or story may extend not only on one wall but also at a right angle to the painted field on the adjacent wall or else it is carried over on the face of a pilaster (cave XVII)[67]. Such painting on adjacent walls corresponds to some extent to cave sculpture where, as for instance in Bhaja (Surya relief, etc., second century B. C.)[68], the whole extends from one wall to the next in continuity, irrespective of the changed direction of the wall and with a technical adaptation only of the design to the edge. In Elura however (Naga and Nagini, on the outer wall of the Kailasanatha temple ; Tripurantakamurti[69], eighth century A.D.) the carving is carried on over edge and comprises the space between the walls as part of its form. This is not so in the paintings. The web of rhythms screens them from the space of the cave.

Not altogether however do the paintings extend without frames over the entire available wall space. Frames occur, albeit negatively with regard to the paintings, inasmuch as broad borders replete with scrolls surround not the paintings but the doors of the cells which are cut into the walls in regular intervals. This refers to cave XVI whereas elsewhere there are no such painted frames laid around the doors.

The wide surfaces now overlaid with paintings are not usually divided into horizontal bands, although vestiges of such an array

occur in cave XVII and take the shape of plain separating lines or of rocks, houses and roofs linked in horizontal continuity. The Matrposaka Jataka[70] for instance is divided from the Sarabha Jataka by a straight horizontal line while it is painted itself in two rows separated by horizontal roof lines[71]. Two panels again on a pilaster[72] are bounded by plain or shaded bands of colour. Horizontal demarcations are brought about by an alignment of architectonic shape in the Mrga Jataka with the kitchen scene, where the coping of a wall draws the line. Not a division, but an articulation along horizontal lines is effected in the large painting of the Visvantara Jataka by rocks set in horizontal sequence. In vestiges, which are transformed into parts of a more comprehensive mode of painting, the frieze with its horizontal limits survives. The stories now are laid out on the whole of the wall. Yet the painting does not end with the presentation of one story. Imperceptibly, and this is the main trend, one glides into the next and they are joined in the whole painting as the single scenes in their turn are comprised within the painting of one story. The whole wall space, the front, sides and back of the cave, unheeding demarcation and brimful with paintings, shows the scenes next to one another, laterally, above and below, spread out in simultaneous validity. Collateral scenes are connected so that they can be read in the direction of the main rhythmical flux while the scenes appended below or added on above are linked with the main current by a tree, for instance ; it grows from the one scene into the other which is superimposed (Mahakapi Jataka, cave XVII). Or the scenes are shuffled in several compartments to convey their connectedness (scenes from the life of Buddha, cave XVI).

CAVE XVI

In the large painting of the conversion of Nanda (cave XVI), a

building with a pent-roof comes out of the depth from left to right and the rocky formations behind also sally forth across the width of the painting but at a different angle. In the opposite direction a high rock looms large with platforms. Elements embodying the metaphysical direction, i. e. that of forthcoming are combined in staging the scenes of Nanda's and the Buddha's flight through the air. Charged with their forthcoming at multifarious angles, the painting is solid with the impact of forward movement. In the earlier caves similar devices are employed[73]. In this painting large volumes emerge against a dark sky[74]. It is beset with flowers. Although remains are scanty to witness the ground, strewn over with flowers, they can still be discerned, in the earlier paintings also (p. 10). In the present scene[75] a tree with its leaves shaded in yellow green tones stands out against the dark ground[76].

A very round modelling carefully outlined gives to the figures a bodily warmth and stable well-being. Whatever their size, their inner measure is not conceived on a large scale. Possibly the paintings most balanced in Ajanta in the relation of modelling and outline belong to the right and left walls respectively of cave XVI with the scenes of the conversion of Nanda and those from the life of Buddha. The inner measure of these paintings however does not attain to the implicit possibilities of the means of visualisation which are here perfectly poised. Reserve holds every form from within and keeps it trim with a glowing presence. Movements are decorously ample, and fiercely collected at times (the flight of Nanda and Buddha). The angles are rounded off and nowhere can the mobility of the line be witnessed to greater advantage than in the shallow curves of the now long and liquid eyes and the multiform arches of brows. Of the same type though of lesser achievement are the elephant scenes[77] and with a further recrudescence, a slack modelling and loose line the scene of

Mahosadha's judgment from the Maha-ummagga Jataka is painted[78].

The paintings in cave XVI, fragmentarily preserved in parts are not all the work of one phase. The remnants of scenes with Buddha preaching, on the left wall, as well as those on the back wall, modelled profusely in colour, brown modelled with red, and light yellowish red with deep Indian red and with high lights, have none of the suavity of the paintings just mentioned. In the scene of the sermon on the right half of the back wall, the modelling-shadows condense into thick rims along the outlines. They are deeper at the edge and lighter inside. Such summarising deftness means quick work and presupposes a knowledge of a more intimate modelling taken for granted. This applies to the three fragments of scenes preserved on the back wall, i. e. Buddha preaching on a lotus supported by Nagas, an elephant scene and a fragment of warrior figures as well as to the sermon scene on the left wall. They are on one level of technical maturity with paintings in caves I and II[79]. The Yaksa on the right wall, to the left of the first door has the high lights of his jewels laid on in a thick relief of dots of white colour. Such technical facility comes late and is worthy of note as it shows the 'forthcoming' ever more obvious of the modelled form in painting.

CAVE XVII

Bands of Jatakas are unrolled in disguised alignment or with a dividing line casually interpolated in cave XVII. They are lavish with small figures, endowed with ease amounting to elegance where efficient craftsmen work in the tradition which had been consolidated by such paintings as that of the Buddha and Nanda scenes in cave XVI. These small figured Jataka scenes on the back wall and the adjacent parts of the right and left walls[80], are painted in the idiom of the day[81]. It has several dialects and these are gathered in the vast and complex

composition of the Visvantara Jataka on the left wall. Wind passing over a ripe field of corn bends it in waves as dense in their sequence as are the widely flung arches of rhythm across the entire height of the wall, above and below the door lintels and extending right to the door openings which have no painted borders that would stem the tide of this multiple procession[82]. It is a-stir with rhythmical sequences and where one movement glides downwards, another has started already within its arch and rises in its turn.

Into this great cortege of ambient rhythms the royal chariot drives forward, diagonally outward into the painting ; the gate next to it similarly set against a row of shops in the bazaar, marks one compartment while once more the same forthcoming from the depth marks another phase in the Jataka. Metaphysical and rhythmical movement here are joined in a comprehensive conception on the largest scale. It is filled with middle-sized figures, varying accomplishment and with different formal treatments. Such paintings of vast conception are the integration of the possibilities of composition in Ajanta. The penetration of metaphysical direction and rhythmical movement absorbs all the possibilities and requisites hitherto devised. The Visvantara Jataka and the Simhala Avadana, the one occupying the middle of the left, the other of the right wall, of cave XVII, and the Mahajanaka (?) Jataka in cave I are integrations on one level. Beyond such compositions painting in Ajanta does not go. They are complete and altogether exhaustive. None of the possibilities present in previous paintings have been left aside and all of them are carried out to the last. This compositional fulfilment however is not always accompanied by an equivalent maturity of the figures which it carries. All have not fully grown up as yet and have not reached the measure they have internally as well as externally, in 'the offering of the handful of dust', another painting in cave XVII[83]. Actually the mode of visualisa-

tion in this tradition is often ahead of the things visualized. The setting for instance of the Saddanta Jataka in cave X (Pl. I) held the direction of forthcoming in the rocks as well as in a cognate massing of other devices and strung together the whole by an undulating movement in the surface and forward and backward as well. The figures entrusted to this forthcoming and sway were not its equals. They were unaware of it and unawakened. They looked with open eyes into a festive life. They glow with a bodily warmth of modelling and the foreboding of its transience, in cave XVI. This makes them supple with a wistful elegance, in cave XVII. Slender and silent, they avert the glance and behold themselves. Their eyes are long and devoted to their own wondrous presence. Carried now by integral waves, they lean with grace on their plant-like surrender to being alive and passing away, as if by enchantment.

The fulness and warmth in which the bodies were glowing in cave XVI had been based on the stolid roundness of limbs, of the earlier versions (caves IX, X). Now the figures are attenuated. Elegant and versatile in all the arts of movement and emotion their glance sways in their boat-shaped eyes and does not detach itself from the sea of living experience on which they sail. The narrow and long slits of their eyes are as yet not burdened by an ultimate realisation which is to make them droop their lids over a knowledge akin to that which the painters now formulate in compositional terms. This gradual awakening with lowered lids, to a final absorption is not only conveyed by the eyes. It is equally manifest in the gradual transformation of the body, its proportion, mode of modelling and outline[84].

Such comprehensive painting may be executed with pervading mastery, as of the Simhala Avadana but this need not be so and the lesser attainment in parts of the Visvantara Jataka is yet carried by a subordination to the integral scheme. In the Visvantara painting modes

of form occur which are to occupy a wider range in caves I and II[35]. Although some are of a relatively lesser achievement, they appear by the side of a type of painting which gives to cave XVII an equal distinction albeit of a different type as the work of the Nanda and Buddha scenes to cave XVI. It is especially in the figure of Madri - as she appears twice, encased by rocks, whither she had gone to pluck fruits for her family and where she is retained by Indra, transformed into a lion - swayed by the wide silence of her eyes and the pliancy of her being, that a more tenuous modelling relegates its fulness to the line. Swaying, it is rocked into ambient roundness. Such swaying and modelling linearism tends towards an association with floating veils, transparent and of similar curves (cf. Simhala Avadana painting). This type of figure is interspersed in the Visvantara Jataka with a more clotted type while it is sheer in the entire Simhala Avadana painting, in the Sibi Jataka painting, which follows it, as well as in the scene of the Hamsa Jataka which precedes the Visvantara painting, and in the single figure on a large scale that follows upon it, painted on the second pilaster of the left wall. It is perceptible to a lesser degree in an unidentified scene on the facade of the veranda of cave XVII[36].

The painting of the Simhala Avadana is born of this vision. Figure and composition, ground, line and volume are cognate. The ground, with the deep-red, saturated surface is bestrewn with flowers. It is the condensed and transmuted, the 'original' body of any setting merged in it, and for which it stands (see page 29). Few rocks flame up, burning copper red and the house of the Raksasis is thrown up acutely. But the bodies of the many figures in intrinsic concatenation, desubstantialized like a beating of wings and scimitars, are its angelic pattern. Such elation and acuteness are the lightning flashes of mastery. The ineluctable urge to become form is not ahead of its means any more ; an ardent and responsible guide, they now keep pace with it.

Other paintings in cave XVII are akin in their figures to those of the Sankhapala Jataka of cave I[87], in proportion and movement, looseness of knees and energy of gestures. The paintings in cave I carry on in many respects and straightway the idioms of cave XVII. It may be mentioned that large figures of Bodhisattvas in the shrine of cave XVII, carved, plastered and painted, in their expansive generalisations and clear cut physiognomies are equivalent with the magnificent Bodhisattva, carved, plastered and painted to the right of the image of Buddha in the shrine of cave II[88].

Aggrandized in outer and inner form, the large Bodhisattva paintings of cave I completely have come forth. Altogether laid out with all its possibilities attained, the impact which shapes the figures full in substance, sustains them. As if weightless in their amplitude, they are held forth on the ground of which they are the ultimate exponents. Upheld, they lean on it. All that tends forwards teeming with life and form, in them it falls back upon itself and halts. Lowered eyelids screen the return of life gone out in its plenitude and come home. The silence of this return resounds in the music and elation of child and animal form ; monkeys and Kinnaras gambol and strum their instruments. Ribbons flutter from Bodhisattva Padmapani's crown tossed by a gale of stillness and the crystalline rock cubes flame and consume their own shapes. A fierce combustion of crystalline definition still urges ahead while it has already reached its limits[89].

Of equally wide lineaments is the large Avalokitesvara painted on another part of the wall[90]. Yet his figure is grave, a bar to the inward step of return. This need not necessarily be shown in painting in the expression of the figures. Their cast and also their setting conveys it. In this painting, garlands and crown are stellar webs of scintillation and leafy flowers are winged on evergreen rocks. Their icy cubes are sparks crystallized. Within this transcendental filigree the large figures are staid. Their movements and their gestures lack the amplitude of their frames[91]. The achievement of this painting has not the omnivalence of the former. But its setting belongs to the same sphere. In the one the vortex of matter in the momentariness of its consummation, makes the rocks themselves into flames ; in the other their ice green crystals sparkle with the white heat which has gone to their making.

Such painting of rocks draws the ultimate consequences of an attitude that from the earliest paintings on followed the rocks on the way of their acquiring visualized shape (Pl. I).

It resolves them now into their primeval precedence and living essence. This stepping backward in visualizing the concretion of rock-form, is concomitant with the transformation of traits of the human figures and the way they are limned. As the cube of construed stone is now suggestive of a less dense, more ardent and fluid state, so also does modelling now not show off a rounded body. Modelling in its own nature is bodied forth in terms of substance, colour and line.

Not always is this ultimate level of vision and attainment within the reach of the craftsman. While some of them are great masters of painting, they yet remain 'prthagjanas' who have devotion, though not the understanding of the transforming power ; others with adept hands may be in the current of things, unawares, and their work also fits into the whole while it may not in itself be convincing. Carried by one unanimous tradition which sustains his work, any experienced craftsman is fit to fill in any part if this does not hinder the flux and consistency of the whole.

Immediately to the left of the large Padmapani painting and oversected by the tail of one of the monkeys sporting on its rocks, are the red pillars of a palace, with lustration and renunciation scenes. These belong to a Jataka[92] and below this trim and slender building there is another of flaccid shape and pallid colour[93]. Each tells its own story in subject matter, form and meaning. The various modes of painting are in the closest proximity, and with the same ease as the tales they tell. Each in its way, they all have the same reference. There is only one final goal of all the Jatakas and one ultimate source from where the many trends and waves of painting issue. The figures in the red building are relatively small, sparse and dedicated. They do not

occupy much room and the ceiling is high above them. Flexed in every joint they sway and tripple, arrayed within the building, in impetuous diagonals. Their short and animated faces are rich in modelling with high lights on forehead, nose, lips, chin and a flash in the eyes. The outlines are potent, by the side of and not one with the modelling. The large eyes are not drawn towards the temples in an aggrandized and simplified shape nor do their brows show the calligraphic and unbroken sweep of two widely flung arches and a steep vale towards the root of the nose[94]. They differ in every face [95] and the main figure has triangular brows, those of another are smoothly arched, while in a third face they are straight lines. Their thickness also varies and the quality of the hair as it is painted agrees in each line with the total physiognomy of the figure. But all have a thrilled swaying, so that even the low-cast type for instance of the second man who leans on a staff, in the prince's palace is purged of the dull grossness of his features. A dedicated participation reverberates in the figures and the vibrancy of the moment makes fly up with alike zest the end of a 'camara'. With sparse and brittle shapes accomplished in their slightness within a spacious setting, this scene is the work of a master craftsman of a humbly dedicated mind.

The large figures, however, in the pale green pavilion of the next scene below, reach to its ceiling, obtuse and drowsy. They are modelled with large surfaces of different tones of colour and there is no high light. Flaccidly spread, their three quarter view is given only one distended, sweeping curve, with an outline vaguely descriptive in rambling torpor. Their languor and opulence however do not occur sporadically only, i. e. in this special scene. The paintings of other scenes are of similarly ample curves, around, blubber features, offuscated, and oedematous with large surfaces. Their sodden spread has a thick modelling colour to strengthen the contour and the line has a breadth which is blunt[96].

By the side of one another, merging the one into the next, the differing modes of painting of the three scenes, i. e. the Padmapani scene and the two others of which the one may be also styled in the red building, the other in the green building, exemplify different possibilities within one tradition. The type of painting of the large Bodhisattva scenes has attained to its climax, while that of the lustration and abdication scenes within the red building, ripe in pictorial means and on a lower level of realisation, is painted in a manner forestalled in the earlier caves. The transformation of the pictorial means however is taken for granted while it is not itself gone through by the painter of the 'salver scene' in the green building, and of the other scenes referred to. Of the two latter types of craftsmen the painter of the red building has the frame of mind of an earnest and humble lay-follower and his understanding he paints with the highest efficiency. This is not the case with the painter of the green building with the salver scene. His mind is that of a worldling, and as a craftsman he has no special attainment either. But he also paints within the tradition and while he dilutes it he can neither do without, nor break it. Leaving aside the quality of these paintings, their sequence, from the point of enlightenment and of its transforming power - also of the pictorial form - would give a place before the climax to the red house scene, and another albeit inferior one after the climax to the scene in the green pavilion. This implies a potential chronology, although not in terms of date. The red house scene could have been painted without the mastery of the large Bodhisattva paintings having been there. Not so, the salver scene and a good number of other paintings. The inflated mannerisms of the latter rest on the largeness of their fulfilment. They encumber and dilute it.

Stages in the process of integration of pictorial form are : the lay out of stories, etc. on the band unrolled (cave X, Pl. I) ; the vast

and comprehensive composition on the entire wall space as of the Visvantara Jataka of cave XVII and of the Mahajanaka Jataka, cave I ; the ultimate stage of the forthcoming of modelled form is held by the large Bodhisattva paintings of cave I. The principles of form seize the whole from the outset and accomodate to it the appearance of the single figures. The larger, i. e. the compositional vision is there from the beginning, if only 'in nuce'[98] ; it expands intrinsically within every shape comprised in its organism and finally invests it with a physiognomy fit to embody its metaphysical and rhythmical components, in traits of awareness. This growing up of the figures is not only an inward process. Visibly too they expand. Size, not only in Indian art is an index of importance. The colossal size of Kusana Bodhisattva images shows it in a naive sense. The large and phantom-like Buddha figure painted in cave XVII, in the scene of the offering of the handful of dust[99] forestalls the large Bodhisattva figures painted with a full awareness of their state of consciousness.

A vast and comprehensive painting as that of the Mahajanaka Jataka partly employs modes of presentation based on this ultimate aspect of forthcoming. It does however not by far rise to the level of the large Bodhisattva scenes. Parallel to the Visvantara painting in cave XVII, various modes of painting fall each into their proper place, with analogous cadences of arched rhythms and following upon another as breath follows breath. On the whole the painting is not distinguished. A stolid mannerism of arched lines holds an unfeeling modelling[100]. The painter of the sermon scene around the hermit applies the idiom he has learned with a sober earnest[101] and the palace scene is painted with a liquid brush and a florid flutter[102]. Its cast is in the current of things and sweeps also across the next scene, the exit of the prince. This facile idiom is readily employed in cave I. Exuberant or torpid in the mannered sinuosity of modelling and line, it occupies a

lower level of pictorial means which have been brought up to date[103].

Imperceptibly merging as far as the rhythmical continuity of 'composition' is concerned, into the Mahajanaka Jataka but painted differently is the Sankhapala Jataka[104]. The figures which people either Jataka, are turned into their respective context as far as the stories are concerned. The mode of painting, on a level with that of scenes in cave XVII[105] makes modelling of relatively little consequence and the outline has much to say. The male figures like those of children, with big heads and slight limbs do not attain to the sophisticated alertness of curve, around the back view of the female figures for example ; it is sprightly tame as of young domesticated animals, the bullocks near by. To this type of painting belongs also the first group of the Campeya Jataka[106], spontaneous with relatively angular movements and diagonally planned. The other scenes of this Jataka[107] which are separated from the first by rocky boulders strewn amongst the flowers on the ground, show within a pavilion a pictorial fluidity of higher achievement than that of the Mahajanaka Jataka painting, while the keen briskness of the preceding scene is not absent from the voluble scarves of the central portion of this episode. The third scene, within a pavilion, has the simple earnestness of the sermon scene of the Mahajanaka Jataka. Although some of the figures are standardized types, none is merely applied. Each is painted afresh in exactly the way to which it owes its existence.

This is less so in the Maradharsana panel[108] which has a dull lethargy of form. This painting is symmetrically laid out and does justice vertically and horizontally, to the rectangle which it fills. According to the available wall space, some of the paintings conform in extent and composition with its limits, in cave XVII, the offering of the handful of dust as also the magnificent figure on a pilaster[109], etc. All in one panel and to be seen as one composition are also the "preaching in the

Trayastrimsa heaven", the descent from this heaven and Sariputra's question[110], in cave XVII.

Coarsened, with summary outlines and modelling, with an extensive spread of high lights and the 'rounding off' shadows shrinking towards the outline, which now, with a mannered sickle-sweep may comprise an entire figure[111], the Maradharsana painting and others dwindle in one direction whereas another group, more flaccid and less obtuse, more mannered even in line than in modelling, is similarly inured to a sunken level and scattered quality[112]. Into such degeneration only paintings which employ types of the ultimate attainment fall, and the group of smaller range[113], the easier and more popular idiom, maintains an eager style and does not slur over it. On the contrary, sterner accents of will or emotion enter into its fabric. They thin it out to a lesser dimension, purposive and linear.

In the Sibi Jataka [114] angular and animated movements spirt into the lineaments of the figures. They supersede the fluent curves and the plasticity of the modelling and relegate them to a subservient role. The architecture is shown in this painting to a lesser extent with moulded profiles than with patterned bands, and the formerly rounded shafts of the columns are streaked with lines of an even heaviness. Aridly ornate, they are shuffled in slight layers, thinly following established formulae of forthcoming. Within their shuffled frames, flat and erect like posts, the figures conform with their setting. One of the major figures turns its sharp profile, coarse, intense and angular into a context which as yet is indebted to a suaver idiom. Still, palm trees and flowering shrubs rattle spiky or tin-sheet-like leaves into the cries and the pang of a group of women, all elbows and jutting facial angles[115]. Their fierce context cuts across the flux of things. This type of painting, possibly posterior to any other in this cave, is not due only to a lessening of quality. The obvious deformations (the right arm and

hand of the prince enthroned) result from a clash of the linear elements belonging to the domain of will and emotion, on the one side, and the metaphysical direction of forthcoming along with the uninterrupted rhythm of existence, on the other.

The harsh fabric of the reception scene[116] is akin to that of the Sibi Jataka. With a vertical and horizontal structure into which the figures fit rigidly upright and the bundled folds of their costumes, the painting is stark. And yet the mode of modelling and grouping the figures, dismissed as they appear from door and inter-columniæ, absorbed some of them in a state beyond purposive intention, places them, more than the painting of the Sibi Jataka within the tradition of Ajanta[117].

CAVE II

Embossed to the highest degree of forthcoming, some of the paintings in cave II appear burdened with their impact. Ingrained, the colour itself throws up the form, bubbling. Its substance is tone and shape in one. This colour is neither symbolical nor descriptive and has more than two dimensions. It is substantial. It is the pictorial analogy of such substances as for instance of the pearl. Colour, shape and irradiation are not to be separated. The colour and its quality are ingrained in its texture. The incarnate appearance of the paintings in cave II, is a last mode of the forthcoming of form. Colour there is consubstantial with form[118]. In this it agrees somehow with the quality of colour of the ground. Through it however form passes on its way into the 'borderland'. The colour ground holds it prior to its getting into shape, i. e. potentially. Colour in cave II, ingrained in form, incarnate, has attained to its ultimate possibilities of forthcoming. So did modelled form in cave I. A looming power is laid out in it. It burdens, while it dilates the figures[119]. Analogously it weighs at this moment

III

VOTARIES with OFFERINGS for HARITI and PANCIKA
CAVE II, AJANTA.

The children are well accounted for in a scene devoted to Hariti. Short and crisp curves bind their groups, the one horizontal, the other vertical and each near the outer end of the forthcoming of the scene. It diverges from the middle and maintains a dynamic symmetry with weighted diagonals, with only the one figure of a flying Vidyadhara intact on the left. The tall woman with the fly-whisk is part of either diagonal movement. Her swaying vertical is reiterated by that of the other figure near the banana plant. Between their arms, the one raised with a fly-whisk and the other lowered above the corresponding gesture of a small figure, turned and poised in the opposite direction, they rock the painting into balance. Round tray heaped with offerings, round seat of a Bodhisattva-like youth are rotating islands spinning into steadiness with the load which they carry. Cave and banana plant, leaf and rock, on left and right, they clasp with their arches, quick with young sap and an adapted structure, the staid advance of this scene. It has its counterpart on the other side of the bay and its goal in the main direction of its figures, and at a right angle, on the back of the bay where the large images of Hariti and Pancika are carved.

in sculptured form. Of the ultimate fulfilment of the function of colour there is no painting preserved equally great in conception, as of the ultimate phase of 'volume' in the Bodhisattva scenes in cave I.

Lesser painters now adhere to the manner of the Mahajanaka Jataka of cave I. They endow a further coarsening with a new ponderosity. Jewellery with them is a cumbersome adjunct in the way it is painted unfeeling of the body which it is meant to adorn [120]. In other paintings of this type the figures are torpid with large and contrasting stretches of colour [121]. 'Thick and dark colour modelling condenses near the edges, and frames the lighter parts of the body, like leaden rims a stained glass window [122].' A slackening at this stage cannot always be dismissed as merely the contribution of mediocre craftsmen. It is symptomatic of a devolution in another direction. The offering scenes (Pl. III) [123] have figures summarily modelled in large surfaces. The darker tones, productive of the roundness of modelling have receded from the centre and condensed towards the outlines. Such reductions tend towards a final elimination of the modelling function of colour [124].

Another type of painting corresponding to those of smaller range in cave I, is represented extensively by the contiguous scenes of the Vidhurapandita Jataka (Pl. II) and of the Purnavadana [125]. Related to the type of painting of the Sankhapala and Campeya Jatakas in cave I, they share some of its peculiarities such as the slight bodies of men appended to relatively large heads and this child-like appearance, specially in some Purnavadana episodes, adds an eager humbleness to the shuffled scenes, room upon room, one forthcoming telescopically in front of the other. Meting out its setting to every scene, in this kind of paintings runs parallel and synchronous with the great conceptions of the Bodhisattva configurations in cave I and the great colour form of painting (Indra, etc.) in cave II [126]. This reliable mode of painting neither touches upon the climax nor is it subject to dissolu-

tion. From the paintings in caves IX and X (Pl. I) to the last mentioned in cave II (Pl. II), including related paintings in the other caves, sanctioned types remain spontaneous in the security of their tradition. It outlives the great moments and supports them. Its mutability rests on a permanently available stock. Its total repertory is drawn upon within the phase of approximately half a millenium outlined hitherto. Subsequently full use is not made of the entire heritage, and in a context less resilient, the line hardens.

The Sibi Jataka type of painting in cave I is partly of a different lineage. It allows modelling to become insipid and to peter out in line as well as in colour. The vitality of the painting belongs to a new and lower level to which the achievements of Ajanta could sink, with a setting still reminiscent of its meaning and yet part of another life. But in the tall figures of the offering scenes in cave II the plastic conception of forthcoming is still incandescent in pale limbs (Pl. III). Elbows there are dreamily hooked into sparse movements. Frail glances from wondrous eyes are held in smooth ovals of faces ensconced by simple bands and elegant coiffures. A thin sap flows in limbs turned round to perfection. Some of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures in this cave are akin in type.[127]

In other paintings a mannerism of careless drawing brushes over residues of the whole range of conventions ; over-elongated figures are packed into pavilions, which they altogether fill, a slatternly congeries[128]. In these paintings large with disintegration, although no renewed forces stir, yet a clear trend is at work, if only by elimination of a redundancy by which some of the paintings in cave I, etc. were benumbed[129].

Neither are the paintings of caves IX and X a beginning, nor those of caves I and II the end of a tradition. When all the possibilities of ultimate realisation have matured and been given form, in Ajanta

IV

THE BETROTHAL of SIVA and PARVATI
CAVE III, BADAMI, A. D. 578.

and in Bagh[130], undercurrents of smaller range yet persist for centuries. Some of the paintings in Elura, (Pl. V, centre), others in South India[131] and some book illustrations of the same date as the last, of the 'eastern school'[132], are products of the same tradition.

In the eight centuries (second century B. C. approximately to sixth A.D. and shortly after), the possibilities of this tradition have altogether been bodied forth ; 'space receptacles' and the prisms of the rocks are amongst the formulations preceding that of the colour incarnate, which is substance itself modelled. Along with the intensification of pictorial means, the physiognomy of the figures becomes concentrated in psychological awareness. The latter is carried by the sensibility of the line which in its turn, shares in the burden of modelling. Decreasing and increasing in thickness in that function, it is at times invested with a calligraphic definition in caves I and II.

With a thinned modelling and slackened contour the paintings in cave III, Badami, dated 578 A.D. , (Pl. IV)[133] follow upon the malleable compactness of the bulk of the work at Ajanta[134].

PART II

ELURA

The first layer of paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple (Pl. VI) holds elements of the many trends of painting in Elura. Contemporary with the completed excavation itself, it shows by the end of the eighth century, their penetration. In the following pages the several components will be shown at work. The southern school is represented in relative purity in the paintings of the Lankesvara cave. Some of its motives however form part also of the 'medieval' pattern of the paintings on the first layer on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple. The geographical term 'southern' and the chronological term 'medieval' indicate continuity and adaptation of the pictorial tradition. They interact while each remains unmistakable from the eighth to the twelfth century and later.

Replete with clouds are almost all the painted panels on the ceilings of the Kailasanatha, Lankesvara, Indrasabha and Ganesa Lena temples, excavated from the living rock in Elura[1]. Conglobulated variedly, they are the ground whence the figures are shown to emerge, the element that supports them. Few are the paintings preserved on the walls of these caves[2] and the ubiquitous clouds painted on the ceiling may not be only emblems and atmosphere of the upper region. It can be assumed that they also spread across the walls[3]. But not only the vapours of the upper region cover the ground of the ceiling panels. Others are filled with aquatic devices and their floating movement (Pls. V - VI). It carries the central lotus, carved in an overwhelming size in the midst of the painted rectangle of the ceiling in the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple (Pl. V). The division of this ceiling into an inner and a contiguous outer rectangular zone, the latter surrounded by

smaller rectangles painted on stone beams, appears to be reminiscent of wooden constructions and their painted decoration.

This is valid also for the painted ceilings at Ajanta, where every panel is composed in view of its frame and is an application to its limited scope, of a conception of painting intrinsically frameless and laid out on the walls in its full extent. In Elura however such paintings as are preserved on the walls are, if not part of sculptural conceptions, measured out in rectangles, similar in this respect to the paintings on the ceiling[4].

Their composition is conceived in view of given limits. The clouds completely cover the ground and their shapes are adjusted to the straight lines of the frames. Coming from Ajanta, it seems as if their volumes would have evaporated from within their margins and have left only those. In compensation these are now over the entire field, whereas their compact shapes were but one amongst the many which had come forth from the ground in Ajanta. Here, however, they themselves are the ground. All the other figures partly emerge from them and while some are half held, others soar in front of them. They exist in the cloud sphere. They adhere to the cusped shapes of the clouds and their outlines are around them halo like. They have no need of their legs to support them. Freely mobile like arms and hands, these are bent acute and weightless, slim to being atrophied from their state of existence in the sphere of clouds. They float and emerge, though not from the deep. The metaphysical direction, i. e. that of forthcoming in them seems to be caught near its foremost limit[5]. What lies behind is not shown and scarcely hinted at by some of the half emerging and half hidden figures. There is as little impact in the forthcoming of the figures - they emerge - as there is volume in the vaguely superimposed layers of outlined clouds. On a different level, their function in the paintings at Elura corresponds to that of the rocks

and buildings in Ajanta. They too are an ubiquitous setting. The volume of the rock prisms and space-bodies of the buildings provides the stage for all the other figures in Ajanta. Here, there is no stage, no space-body and not much suggestion of volume. Indian painting of the Ajanta tradition precipitates its vision along the direction of forthcoming. In Elura it has come to the foremost edge of the border-land and the clouds have to assemble at times in barrier and shield devices (Pl. VI, bottom) and guard the thin zone.

Their layers, in the paintings of 'medieval' type have mostly dispensed with their once vaporous texture and have gathered towards their own edges where they condense into strong and dark outlines. These link up cuspedly and follow the outline of the figures so that each appears in its own setting in a cloud conglomeration that holds it. The figure is the nucleus of such constellations, singly or in pairs. They are laid out collaterally, all to the same extent of forthcoming.

What roundness of modelling they have is by way of an inheritance and without immediate impact; cloud-born. They rest on a cloudy zone or they are embedded in it, as if in shallow conch shells, (Pl. VI, left bottom) or between the several layers or within their flat and cusped frames ; these forecast, as much as they echo, their outlines. While the clouds are the ground of the paintings, they also fill them right to the edge and even in front of the figures, a tenuous substance cast in given frames, a homogeneous mass. It has a coherent texture. There are no holes and the void called space, is altogether absent[6]. Altogether figured, the ground lacks the charged and often anonymous quality of the plane and opaque colour of the ground in the Ajanta tradition. It is spread out and cast into frames from resources where unending patterns are stored.

While the Ajanta paintings seem to proceed with every one

of their units from a point situated in the hidden store behind all form and seem to take shape in their progression, the Elura paintings have no immediate reference to a deeply hidden source. They are not visualized in the process of forthcoming but, having attained visibility this alone is beheld, a weightless pattern. It is freely rhythmical while it is meted out to the particular field which it is meant to fill, a thin veneer yet not transparent. In Ajanta the inmates of the 'borderland' are shown coming forth with their receptacles and while coming forth they build up the borderland. In Elura the figures also have come forth simultaneously with their surroundings, the clouds. Yet they do not build up their zone of manifestation ; their kinetic activity lies in their past, as far as the figures of human or cloud shape, etc. are rounded off by modelling. Now they are discharged, and one with the ground ; their thin fabric can be stretched across frames.

The cusped or globular cloud conglomerations in the southern type of paintings moreover have an ascending tendency where they are not seething with indefinable shapes, agitated like tongues of fire and the foam of the sea[7]. Once the direction of forthcoming no longer assigns their places to the figures and the parts of the painting, the pictorial movement, discharged in the surface, organizes it along the possibilities which the surface holds by itself and without reference to the direction of forthcoming.

The types of the clouds and the relation of cloud and figure vary in Elura which, unlike Ajanta does not offer the spectacle of one unanimous tradition of painting. Here several currents meet, coexist and blend. Despite however the contrasting styles, their application is of one kind. Clouds, whatever the stylistic variation of their shapes, are the ground which fills the panels, and figures are wreathed on it in different rhythms. In fact, these paintings are patterned veils of Maya. Referred to the surface on which they are measured out, they enliven

it in ways peculiar and limited to it. The densely woven but thin veil of Maya is painted in some of the many rhythms which the experience of life has for its measure.

Having its support on the knowledge which had been fully laid out in painted form in the Ajanta tradition, form discharged from its impact, dwells on the surface. Not on the surface of things but on that of being. Here figures are contiguous on one level. In an art of the surface, the line is given a wide scope. It carries keen rhythms according to the varied patterns of existence and each school contributes its own.

Clouds, ubiquitous in Elura, occur in the Ajanta paintings incidentally only, in connection as a rule with the appearance of Devatas. There they look vaporous. As part of the entire conception they are shown forthcoming, a mass attaining highest bulk in the middle and dwindling towards the edges. These are clearly cusped and indented in several ways. They harbour all the components of shape in which the Elura clouds are drawn across the surface. The cloud, now appearing in Elura according to the one and then again according to another of the qualities at one in Ajanta, may be seen as a paradigm of pictorial adaptations.

Taking the paradigm of the cloud, there are two main varieties in Elura. The one is strong with black and cusped outlines with the body dwindled away almost (Pls. V—VII), the other has modelled conglobulations with a modelling outline of the colour of the cloud, in a deeper tone[8]. These types of clouds go with corresponding types of figures and movements. The latter are altogether homogeneous in the second type, while the former accomodates diverse figures and trends on its convolutions, linear in the main. In several paintings the two types commingle. The second type has the major share. It appears to represent a tradition parallel to Ajanta, and which has risen to the surface with lessened means. The paintings which belong to it are in the Lankesvara cave and in the Indra-sabha cave 31 east[9], also in Indra-sabha cave 32, on the ceiling of the corridors of the main hall of Indra-sabha cave 33[10] and in an inferior mode in the Ganesa Lena. In paintings of this type the clouds are roundly modelled balls massed up into ascending mountains of which the most conspicuous rear their heads

PART OF PAINTED CEILING[11]
WESTERN PORCH, KAILASANATHA TEMPLE, ELURA

The two layers of paintings are contrasted in the reproduction ; the first layer is lighter and occupies the left part of the reproduction including the part of the border and also inside the spandril of the inner field. It is also visible in parts where the second layer has peeled off.

The second layer may be about a century younger than the first. The colours, earth reds, yellow, black and white are the same in both the paintings and are darkened in the outer layer.

behind the single figures which they accompany with their conglobulated shapes a foil of contrasting colour, dark figure against light clouds, light figure against dark clouds, both modelled in colour. The cloud-mountains of Indian red, terre verte or buff earth colour are circumscribed by modelling lines of a correspondingly deeper shade of the same colour, excepting the buff clouds which are edged deep red.

The other variety is well defined by a thick black outline around the attenuated cloud constellations. It replaces the single balls by scallops with at times a scroll between two cusps or a thick black dot. Abbreviatingly this appears sometimes in the middle of a cusp, a contraction of two clouds. In this version which belongs to the first layer of paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple (Pls. V-VI), the clouds seem to have evaporated and condensed around their thinned expanse in thick and desiccated lines. These are further coarsened and consolidated on the second layer of paintings on this ceiling (Pl. V), and their cusps are spatulate and tripartite in the four panels on the eastern part of the ceiling of the main hall and on those in the southern porch of the Kailasanatha temple and also in the centre of the ceiling of Indra-sabha cave 33[12]. The cusps however are the leading motif and they entwine the clouds with deeper or shallower curves. In the central panel of the southern porch of the Kailasanatha around the dancing Siva[13], the ground seethes with wave like crests, a welter of fused cloud shapes, modelled and sharply outlined, converted into a consuming pattern of conflagration. In it the two main modes of painting in Elura participate.

The painting of the second type has much in common as far as the figures are concerned, with those in the reliefs at Mamallapuram[14]. They will be spoken of as of Southern Indian type but this refers to Mamallapuram only. For the figures of the Kailasanatha Temple at Kancipuram[15] nearer in age to those painted in Elura, are not imme-

diately related whereas the reliefs of the Virupaksa temple at Pattadakal[16], also refer to the type of sculpture as in Mamallapuram. The paintings of South Indian type in Elura can also not be related directly to the few remnants of wall paintings in the South, at Sittanavasal, Tirumalaipuram or at Kancipuram of the seventh century[17].

In the Samavasarana painting on the ceiling of the Sittanavasal cave, the outline holds with sharply shallow curves figures poised with but little modelling. The fragmentary paintings at Tirumalaipuram conform with the Mamallapuram trend in the movement of the figures with angular bends in hip joint, knee and elbow. There the smallness of the figures with heavy heads seems to continue a mode which also occurs in Ajanta[18]. At both these South Indian sites as well as at Kancipuram, modelling is slight and the line is sharp[19]. A sleek and high modelling however is fastened by massive lines in the paintings of the Brhadisvara Temple, Tanjore, of the twelfth century[20]. The wave like crests of trefoil clouds painted in the Brhadisvara temple resemble shapes painted in Elura, in the south porch for example near the dancing Siva. In Elura the modelling outline still suggests the living, breathing way in which the body is rounded off. The roundness of limbs and clouds is a remembered and visualized result of the movement which has brought about their shape and the outline as its inextricable part aspect.

The slim figures with pliant limbs, their weightlessly poised bodies on long legs of an unearthly tread and slender length, the high and peaked crowns of the male figures[21], are direct descendants of the flying figures of the Ganga relief at Mamallapuram[22]. Their centre of gravity lies in the region of shoulders and chest and from there body and limbs appear suspended. Such bodies are specially fit for soaring and dancing. If shown standing, they seem to have just alighted and only brush the ground before rising into

their natural position of flight. They are built that way with the long shaped faces and an agility of smooth limbs which will not offer the slightest friction. The relation of the body to its axis is, in fact, of the type amply exemplified in Ajanta. The proportions, however, are different and with an attenuation of limbs, their bends are nearer to the angle than to the curve, and with a transference of gravity to the region of the shoulders, themselves narrower, especially with the male figures than in Mamallapuram, the legs now may float in unexpected gyrations. There is an elation different from the flying bodies, as if propelled, downward, forward and horizontally by their own power, of the figures in Ajanta. Here they are vertically afloat in their own element, the cloud balls. These themselves ascend in mountainous constellations and raise each figure to the altitude in which it moves with grace. Ascending clouds wreathed with figured rhythms are light with transparent draperies or scarves of Southern Indian fashion. Their fluctuations cast a tracery of picturesque enervation over the modelled context.

Leaving aside for the present the small influence of the 'medieval' school on the southern school at work in Elura, another factor also modifies it. This is the local trend. Its power has an incomparably wider range in the sculptures than in the relatively slight paintings at Elura. There it commutes the southern element into a further possibility of its own in the Lankesvara carvings, etc. and culminates in such form as that of the figure of Parvati in the Ravana scene or the flying figures on the south and north walls of the Kailasanatha temple[23]. A fusion of the two components on a lesser scale and akin to the one at times arrived at in the paintings, some of the relief panels show of the corridor around the Kailasanatha temple[24].

In painting the local tradition valid hitherto in the Deccan has much less hold. All its possibilities had been made manifest during the preceding centuries. Related and other schools now have their

scope in Elura and the local element now and then contributes some of its motifs. One of them, conspicuous also in sculpture of the corresponding type, is a peculiar curve of the chest[25]. Inflated with power and breath, the chest is thrown forward and with its expansion it draws, seen from any profile, into one convex curve swelling upwards, the outline of the abdomen. The possibility of this ascending curve is present in the outline of some of the flying figures at Mamallapuram[26]. It is not dilated there with the weighty force the Deccan invests it with. The keenness and elation of this particular curve are contributed by the south, the burden of power the Deccan adds. In sculpture the latter belongs to the modelled mass while in painting the conduct of the outline is charged with both. The line is the carrier of the living tendencies in painting in Elura and not the modelled surface[27].

Inasmuch as these paintings rely upon the movement that has brought about the modelled form, they belong to the classical Indian tradition. The clouds are their element[28]. Modelled in colour, their tones combine with those of the modelled figures and hold them in their own 'atmosphere', protective and in this respect akin to the receptacles in which the figures are held in Ajanta. In Elura, to this extent, the paintings of southern type still harbour the metaphysical direction of forthcoming bereft though of its impact and discharged on the surface.

The paintings in Elura of southern type give visual evidence of things beheld by the mind and of the manner of their being thus beheld. No gestures of will or motorial urgency have brought about their form. This however is the case in the medieval type of paintings in Elura.

The two layers of paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasanatha Temple at Elura (Pls. V - VI) comprise the variety of trends on which has fallen the devolution of painting of the Ajanta tradition.

FIRST PHASE OF MEDIEVAL TYPE

A. PAINTINGS IN THE INNER RECTANGLE

The spandrils of the inner rectangle between the large carved lotus and roughly streaked frame are replete with lotus leaves tossed back upon themselves, cup shaped. Insistently this movement returns with lapping high waves. All the figures emerge from some depth ; the elephants are high with a tough modelling, or else summarily brushed with a contrasting or toned colour modelling, also the girlish heads. Ambiguous is the position of this leafy jungle. The shuffling and oblique slanting of the modelled devices partly refer to the direction of forthcoming while the long lotus stalk[29] (Pl. V) lays the water sport into the surface as if brushed back in the same direction as the high waves of leaves folding back upon themselves. The direction of forthcoming is allayed by this movement. It falls back upon itself with a weight of strong waves and with leaden rims. The means of Ajanta heavily turn back upon themselves and close the impact of the major direction. In this clogged surface the rhythms too do not flow, they revert upon themselves, severally, and lock the lotus leaves with links of weighty chains. Every one of these means belongs to some of the Ajanta paintings as well; the leaden outlines, the summary modelling are

present also in some of the very last paintings there[30]. The folding back however of leaves into the surface arrests the original movement, and chains the flux of the undulating line by its counter-movement. A trend seems to work within the traditional means, which is on the way to find its own form. Not only the manner in which the traditional motives are used is peculiar. Some of the shapes too are unforeseen from within the Ajanta tradition. While the three quarter profile of the one round face (Pl. V), albeit flattened as a modelled shape, and the left half of it nearly without foreshortening of eye and mouth are yet compatible with Ajanta types, that of another figure (Pl. VI) is beyond their conventions, with a further disregard of foreshortening and the peaked sharpness of the nose. The movement also of the right arm, in either case away from the body and with a flower-like palm turned outward and flopped into the surface of the painting where it stays flat, is not to be traced back to Ajanta. Such intruding details in the congealing jungle of the Ajanta heritage have a wider share in the broad and frame-like part of this painted ceiling.

B. PAINTINGS OF THE OUTER ZONE

Painted frames and the manner in which they are filled by designs of infinite patterns yet accommodated to the given surface have been referred to already. While the urgency of the design of the first layer of the outer rectangle of this ceiling is definite, the figures are complex. They show their synthesis and give away their origins. Here once more as also in the panels painted in the southern manner clouds are ubiquitous. Their function and appearance however belong to a different order. Residues of modelling are faint and the line of varying thickness, with or without its modelling capacity, rules supreme. If the southern school shaped clouds balls and conglobulated them, those shown here (Pl. VI) have almost lost their substance. It has evaporated

VI

PART OF PAINTED CEILING[31]
ELURA, KAILASANATHA TEMPLE, WESTERN PORCH

First layer of paintings only. The carved lotus in the centre has traces of plaster and must have been painted originally. Vidyadharas and Ganas, etc. amidst the clouds of the outer zone. A divinity riding on a Sardula turns back with folded hands towards the part of the painting which has fallen off the ceiling.

within outlines drawn assertively. They circumscribe with scalloped borders each and every figure or unit of figures. The latter consists of not more than two, in human shape or else of human and animal shape. These scallops are drawn with rapid fluency. Yet it is incisive and does not slur over the cusps. On the contrary, these are fixed with dots. The outline actually consists of curve and dot or else and less frequently of curve and scroll. Its rapidity is held up by its fixative insistence. It clutches the figures if from a distance and shunts them across the surface. Nowhere does it relax its grip whereas in the paintings in the southern manner the figures lean on and are softly held by the cloud element. In the present version, however, the scallops retain only the name of clouds and display their own qualities. A motorial energy records its kind and speed with the support of an accepted terminology. It seizes it and dries up its allusiveness. These clutching cascades of lines are reductions following a simple pattern. Curve and dot align in major arches flung or drawn parallel with the general outline of the figure or group within. They adjust themselves also to the straight edge of the frame, all in one line and oblivious of the ascending movement that allows clouds to impinge on the upper margin in places[32]. They are actually pre-shaped in the pattern of curve and dot. Into it the clouds appear re-interpreted. The currency of the curve and dot pattern is wide, its largest circulation is amongst nomadic people of Turki extraction in Central Asia[33]. In the grip of this pattern, the figures scarcely seem to find time to adjust themselves and they conform with their setting according to their own inherent inclinations. These belong to the several traditions which were instrumental in bringing forth their prototypes. The Ajantesque type of human figure is absent. The southern Indian version is largely employed and adjusted[34]. There are besides indications of a local and up to date modification of a specific Elura or Deccani classical tradition of painting figures. The

couple in their nearness of round limbs, portentous physiognomies burdened with intensity (Pl. VI, near margin on right), form a painted equivalent to the carved Maithuna couple on the door frame of the Kailasanatha temple[35]. One more type refers, albeit indirectly, to the classical mode of Indian painting. It appears connected with some of its Central Asian versions. Ganas assembled along the bottom of Pl. VI have it in the slightly Hellenistic cast of their classically Indian faces[36].

Apart from these direct or indirect issues of classical Indian types, those figures are most conspicuous whose new born physiognomy conforms with the trend of which the conversion of the clouds is amongst the foremost symptoms. One of the figures in the spandril (Pl. VI) has been noticed amidst a congealed setting of Ajanta derivation, for the pointed nose of which the sharp outline disturbed the plastic context, plastic at least in intention, of the face. This facial trait however appears as part of the total form physiognomy in some of the figures in the border (Pls. V-VI)[37]. The pointed nose even projects over the outline of the three quarter profile. With salient lips and blubber eye the contour gets the scalloped speed of the 'cloud' line. Correspondingly the fulness of rounded limbs hurts itself against the angles of shoulder, elbow and wrist, and this protracted staccato movement makes felt the repeated beats of an energy which has no scope in the steady flux of limning in the Ajanta tradition. In this manner the hand versed in drawing the curve and dot pattern, passes along the outline of the face. The tendency of showing the very long eye and also the mouth almost or actually without foreshortening although the face is painted in three quarter profile, is amply present. This is the more striking as in the couple painted in the Elura idiom of the Deccan (Pl. VI, right margin) it is not the case. The twisting of the nose into the profile so that it projects over the outline, and the stretching of the eye to its full

length have their correspondence also in the posturing of the body.

That the impact of its modelling has subsided has been stated already and with a diminution of its volume the corresponding space-body dwindles away. The latter aspect however is not only concomitant with the former. It is brought about to equal parts by the attitude of the body and its limbs in relation to its axis. These are around it in the Ajanta and allied traditions so that a closed unit results along the axis, a cylindrical total of the body and the reciprocal space encircled by its limbs. The tilt of the face along with the movement of arms and legs is with reference to the axis. Such correspondences do not underlie the distortions brought about in the medieval type of painting in Elura. The head for instance is given a turn or an angle without reference to the closed system of the body and its space. It is either twisted beside the body with a forceful bend (Pl. VI, figure in second row of border) altogether outside its volume or else it is raised or turned in its own way, and the face appears modelled on a surface distinctly outlined.

Just as the head in this type of figures is preferably given a sharp twist, outside the body, so also are the arms raised preferably by the side of the body, bent with their hands in the maximum number of angles. The body now is more a coloured surface, jerky and violently animated in its outline than a plastic volume with residues of which the outlines are still replete. These jerky movements sally forth in angles and each joint acts as a halting point comparable to the function of the dot in the hurrying scallops of the 'clouds'. The painting of such features as the nose, projected with a twist similar to that given to movable parts of the body, shows that a new form-producing energy also re-shapes the physiognomy in its lineaments. The body now, far from being balanced with reference to its axis - this is still valid in the southern tradition of painting

in Elura - is eccentrically beside itself in the paintings of medieval type.

Little is left of its volume and as far as its expanse in the surface goes, it is shot across by rapidly changing directions. They result in angular breaks, in the zigzag of the raised arms and the large hands flopped into the surface in various positions, flag, flower and star-like. This also affects the embrace of the couple (Pl. VI, right), painted otherwise in a manner corresponding to sculpture in Elura. While the encircling closeness of two of their arms embraces the entire volume filled by their bodies turned towards one another, and the whole at an angle to the painted surface, the man's right arm tosses overhead an uncouth hand. The motif of the jerked out arm and the flag-like hand is not confined to the most agitated type of figures only, with their zigzag movements in the surface. It is shared by the 'classical' Elura type as well and similar hands are waved in the lotus leave spandrils of Ajanta residues. It occurs also amongst the figures painted according to the southern school[38] and is in fact a motif employed in the sculptures at Mamallapuram[39]. The medieval trend is itself not inventive of motifs. It assembles all that come into its reach and uses them with a more or less pervasive power of adaptation so that they can be gripped by the curve and dot pattern of the clouds. This is with reference to the body of the clouds an outcome of a concentration on their margins ; it results in a decentralisation of their original form and a transferred meaning. The tendency to go to the limit of the form has not only a stressing of the limit as its issue. The centre of gravity, one may say, is stemmed outward. It is arrested on the actual limits which give their name to the shape they hold. From there it is further transferred into the painted surface, by distended limbs, away from the bulk of the figure.

This tendency takes hold of different types of figures in a varying

degree. The tenuous elegance of the southern school is displayed with a sharply angular bend of limbs (Pl. VI, the largest couple.) Residues of 'classical' positions occur, as in the arms meeting in 'anjali mudra'; their squared shape is hung from the shoulders at an angle not altogether oblivious of the relation of space-body and the volume of the respective figure. Relatively the least adaptation the classical tradition of painting undergoes in its version of Central Asian affinities, in which appear the angel like Ganas in the bottom row. Mellifluous with a round line and a caressing modelling they are ensconced in cusped moulds from which their glances seek an escape and where they remain fixed by the flower-stars of their palms. By this last feature only they are brought up to date in Elura. The Indian component has the major share in their make up to which Hellenism has added allurement. They found their way back to India, carried, it seems, by ethnical elements who were strong in the use of the curve and dot pattern. The return home of motifs of Indian origin which centuries ago had migrated outside India, is a symptom repeated in the pictorial and literary history of India [40].

The tradition of painting as in Ajanta, clogged and congealed in the lotus leaf corners of the central square; the classical tradition in a version corresponding to contemporary sculpture at Elura (the embracing couple and other figures); the cognate but differently accentuated southern school; and the classical Indian tradition in its Central Asian version, all these are gripped and variously adapted to a trend of which the curve and dot device may be considered a leading symptom[41].

SECOND PHASE OF MEDIEVAL TYPE

The same devices in a different mixture appear on the second layer of the same ceiling (Pl. V). The array of divinities of an obvi-

ously Southern Indian derivation[42] is set on a ground of cusped design, while the middle panel of the ceiling of the southern porch conforms with this southern type in the figure of the dancing Siva[43]. The 'clouds' around it however employ the curve-dot pattern in unforeseen combinations, spatulate and wave shaped, thickly set and attuned to the southern tradition of painting[44].

The prevalence of the Southern Indian school in the mixture of the two paintings just alluded, does not extend to the same degree to the surrounding squares on the ceiling of the southern porch and of the same date as the central panel with Siva dancing[45]. Inside the Kailasanatha temple, as far as paintings are preserved, the share of the southern or classical element is small indeed and is restricted to the modelling only of the human figures[46]. The four panels of paintings on the ceiling in front of the vestibule of the shrine are of the highest quality amongst the class of paintings as on the southern porch of the Kailasanatha, and also in the middle of the ceiling of Indra-sabha, cave 33 (Pl. VII).

THIRD PHASE OF MEDIEVAL TYPE

The ingredients in the curved band of the fragment reproduced on Pl. VII are derived from such painting as the one on the first layer of the western porch, outer rectangle (Pl. VI). The share of the southern school here however is negligible, the Central Asian incident is forgotten and the rest of the mixture has settled to a steadiness. It lies in the lines which have regained a ponderosity of conduct. The impetuousness of movement in the surface is allayed. The curve and dot pattern is scribbled around and in-between the figures, without fierceness and scarcely informed by the original impulse. A curly ground it makes in which the dot is of more importance than the curve. If the pattern of the ground has settled down, its original

VII

PART OF PAINTED CEILING[47]
ELURA, INDRA-SABHA, CAVE 33

Yama[48] and his consort riding on a buffalo are the only major divinities fully preserved of the procession in the broad segmental band.

movement with a changed speed persists in the figures. Part of the surface, they are shown in three quarter profile. Their raised arms are altogether now laid into the surface. The right angles - between the outline of body and arms and also of the single groups which now, on the whole, appear almost squared (Pl. VII) - with the directive power of their sides diminished, steady the stampede of the marching figures. Large noses still jut out and sometimes they oversect the profile but their straight ridge may be converted into an aquiline curve. It seems as if the impetuous onrush of a new mode which so forcibly gripped traditional types in the first layer of the painted ceiling, western porch, Kailasanatha temple, had subsided. Its incisiveness spent, it persists as a simplifying factor accepted into the traditional idiom. The nervous agitation of the paintings on the first layer, western porch, Kailasanatha temple is allayed in the later paintings at Elura. They mark a return, a sinking back into the established mode. This sinking back is of no considerable depth for the classical tradition itself had already attained the surface, in the process of forthcoming. Referred now doubly to the surface, the line resumes its flux. The dot, an important part of the scallop devices, dwells now with fixative power in the large and wide open eyes of the figures, and also in the curly pattern of the ground.

Now, on the whole the figures are referred to the surface. This includes devices of three dimensional appearance (the zigzag bands) laid out by the side of flat surfaces (Pl. VII, lower part). They divide the several sections in which single scenes are set. The friezes and bands of the earlier Ajanta paintings come to mind. Here however scenes are not shown in their continuity nor in the manner of their forthcoming. Still, partitioned as they are and filling rectangular colour surfaces, their setting yet gives away its antecedents. It consists sometimes of houses or of rock devices. The men, round headed and with

faces in three quarter profile are squat and staid in the surface[49].

The medieval type of painting as exemplified in the lower part of Pl. VII, is distinct from the 'western school' of which paintings on palm leaf manuscripts are known hitherto from the early twelfth century onward[50]. These two medieval schools however share to a considerable extent the same factors. The proportion of their commingling holds them apart. The steadied balance of the classical tradition makes weighty figure and setting of the Deccan vernacular. In the earlier and intermediate versions of the medieval Deccani idiom the South Indian type of the modelled human figure is fitted into clouds with their thick and black outline (for instance in the Kailasanatha temple, main hall, the four panels of the ceiling near the sanctuary, or in the southern porch). This type of figure is abandoned in the later paintings for a sturdier one (Pl. VII). There is an utterly conventionalized modelling in some of them and this debased classical vestige is not the only one. On the western wall of this cave (Indrasabha 33), the central figure of Mahavira has adjacent to it, niches with colour modelling, and single figures are set into each niche. They are of brownish, blue or terre verte colour; on top of each are painted Ajantesque rafter-shaped rocks and on top of these clouds, transformed into a scroll work. Colour-'niche', rocks and clouds are of one and the same colour in each case. This welter of styles and motives brings them up to date with a genuine crudity.

Free, however, from the debased values of this class of work is a fragment of a painting above a figure of Parsvanatha, to the left of the entrance to the sanctuary of cave 33. Here the spatulate clouds are altogether linear and without modelling. The colouring more pronouncedly even than the transformation of the drawing, shows it distinguished from that of the classical tradition, with its tempered and broken colours in many tones of warm continuity. Here adjacent

surfaces with scarcely any modelling are filled by contrasting colours. On a black ground[51] the figures are golden yellow, there are clear cut grey cloud or fruit devices and foliage of a light green ; or else Indian red, white and ochre surfaces make a similarly powerful, if less complex combination. These colours and tones of colours are not new. They are known to the Ajanta tradition. Their application in clear cut surfaces has a sombre power. They are spaced on the black ground for instance so that despite any propinquity of tones they remain separate and contrasted. The same quality belongs although to a lesser degree to the earlier paintings of this type for instance on the ceiling of the south porch of the Kailasanatha temple. On a black ground, the clouds, Indian red, olive green, moss green and buff ochre and kept apart by thick black outlines which constitute the ground, are yet of tones of equal value. Indian red, terre verte and ochre, or a peacock blue instead of the green, on black ground, are also the principle colours employed in the paintings of the southern type. The black ground converts their tonality into contrasted colours. This combination seems to have become stereotyped within the classical tradition from the days of Badami on[52]. In other paintings of the South Indian school the range of colours is more varied and a 'rose madder' red, an Indian earth colour, in Indra-sabha cave 31, is conspicuous.

The medieval Deccani trend of painting employs the wide range of colours of the classical tradition and a fragmentary painting on the second cross beam of the ceiling of the main hall, Kailasanatha temple is bright with a discord of contrasts of unequal tones. Bright red, Indian red, bright yellow, reddish brown, greenish brown and lapis-lazuli blue, all framed with a black outline, belong to two sitting figures of devotees, shown in profile, with very large, projecting eye and nose. With this medley of colour struggling after clear contrast and as yet burdened by the classical heritage, the colouring of Ajanta may be contrasted

with its glowing tones and multiple nuances where the original colour is still preserved or but little tempered by an ill applied varnish. In cave XVII for instance on a pilaster of the wall to the left, light yellow, russet and brown birds are painted on a deep greyish blue ground. Above this the surface is deep Indian red and against the deep red is set an equally deep leaf green house with a golden yellow door. Next to this the ground is of the brightest yellow colour with a light leaf green plant. The painting is saturated with broken colours and their tones correspond. Toned to a fiercer glow is a painting on the verandah of cave XVII[53]. It has an intense yellow-orange wall of a house, salmon pink columns with deep leaf green capitals and a deep purple ground.

From this saturated surface with its indefinite variety of tones, the most earthy and in this respect 'primary' colours, Indian red, terre verte and buff earth colour had, during the devolution of the classical achievement, been convened upon as comprehensive. The medieval Deccani trend however, strives after contrasting colour surfaces within acute and conspicuously black outlines[54]. The vast range of pure and mixed colours of the classical tradition it put to the test as to its power of saturated contrasts. The charged quality of Indian colour persists even if applied as part of a motley surface.

FOURTH PHASE OF MEDIEVAL TYPE

The last mentioned fragmentary painting on the ceiling of the interior of the Kailasanatha temple is significant in that its colour still refers to the classical Indian type, whereas all the other factors belong to the medieval Deccani idiom approximately contemporary with western Indian painting as for instance in the illustrations of Ms. 62 in Nagin Das's Bhandar[55]. Of this type of painting is also a panel on the western door jamb on the north side of the main hall,

of a Raja-like figure in three quarter profile with two figures above him, and this latest version of the medieval Deccani mode as preserved in Elura is given a wide scope in elephant and battle scenes on the western jamb of the door on the south side of the main hall and also in friezes with similar subjects in the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple[56]. This mode of painting had not been foreseen by the excavators of the temple, for the friezes are painted on a very thick layer of plaster. It hides from view a row of carved miniature shrines, buried underneath the painted surface. The steadied impetus, peculiar to medieval Deccani painting here spreads the line into breadth, so that prancing steeds have the shape of rocking horses. The elephants in these scenes, with a fuller modelling adhere to the classical type. Aligned with three quarter profile and obliquely set against the ground, the classical direction of forthcoming as in early paintings in Ajanta[57], is potent with foreshortening in the rows of warriors and the figures of horsemen. Here however they are not related to the ground by any connecting devices in the shape of buildings or rocks. Their movements are on its surface. The scallops of the first and second layer on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasanatha temple (Pls. V-VI) and of consolidated later versions (Pl. VII) are left behind. The valour of linear movement however stays taut with driving power.

The Southern Indian school, in its last attempts at Elura on the ceiling of the veranda of the Ganesa Lena, has done away with most of its modelling condensed as it was into light and broad bands of colour following the dark outline and suggestive of the rounded off body (Lankesvara cave) or flecked with high lights as in the ceiling paintings of the corridor of Indra-sabha cave[58]. The clouds here too have dwindled into colour surfaces, making a flat and monochrome ground, so that each group of figures has its monochrome colour

ground scalloped with cloud cusps on the top and bottom. In this vanishing version of southern painting the high crowns, emblematic of its slender and ornate elegance, are simplified into high conical caps. Within the southern tradition the trend is towards abbreviation and not much is left to say.

The achievement of the paintings in Elura is not on one level with that of Ajanta, Bagh and Badami. Their significance lies in the forceful assertion of a new factor, only slightly anticipated in some of the later work of Ajanta. An exact allocation of its origins is not certain at present, although the curve and dot motif suggests nomads of Turk ascendancy as its carriers. This would be confirmed by the appearance of Central Asian versions of Indian figures, foreign themselves in the abstract design, but carried along with it, into the Deccan. Impetuously vital it grips the several form idioms of Indian tradition. As time goes on it calms down, embodied in their thus transformed mode. Its drive is felt in the paintings from the eighth century. This is one of the vital phases of medieval painting in the Deccan.

The medieval tendency does not act as a foreign element, for inasmuch as it acts, it has found the level on which to be active. The progression of form in Indian painting had exposed its entire range of forthcoming. It had laid out itself on the surface with all its possibilities fulfilled, when an impetus flung across it stirred it into new organisation. Some of the later paintings in Ajanta, floridly torpid are in a state of receptiveness. It is gripped by a new discipline for which it had been ready.

The conjunction of the active components, contingent in space and time, is but a support and analogy of the metaphysical situation. Painting now is on the surface, not of things, but of being. These are not paintings of life as it beholds itself, but as it reaches out towards itself. The figures in the paintings are not emitted from nameless being

into existence and they do not dwell in a painted borderland, at home in their allotted position.

The classical paintings are in the nature of statements of existence. All the figures share in it and they contribute themselves, as they are and move in it. In the medieval paintings however the figures are beside themselves ; their limbs and gestures are not referred to the central axis of their bodies. Eccentric and driven, their direction is part of an unending pattern. Also the facial traits conform with the eccentricity of the movements. No canon of proportions valid in the classical tradition and consolidated in Talamana literature accommodates their keenness of distortion. It is linear, impoverished in direction, in the dimension of will and emotions where there is endless strife and search and no dwelling in the security of existence, in the plenitude of limbs and time. Eyes, nose and mouth dart forwards, ahead of their position in an attempt to conform with the driving power of the movement which holds them in its grip. These figures are not exponents of being for they are in search of it. Bhakti, as she feels, so does she paint herself. The directed eagerness of devotion has no room for anything but itself ; it forgets to breathe, is oblivious of the body and so are the paintings in which the bodied forth aspect of existence is eliminated along with its setting, the space - body and the shapes that hold and fill it. The surface is not charged with form. It is traversed by it. The directed intensity, pure intention that it is, cannot be visualized but by its own propelling and compulsory movement. It must find the quickest and shortest way, the line. It moves on the painted surface.

Restricted to the surface, medieval painting in the Deccan does not only write down the movement which agitates the mind, the body and hand of the painter. Its driving power is allayed by winnowed vestiges of the instantaneousness of the metaphysical direction. They are shown as elements of squareness, in the spacing of the figures (Pls. VI

and VII) and as their setting (Pl. VII, lower part). An element of squareness inhabits the varied rhythms which traverse the surface of medieval painting. It makes them paradoxically weighty, staid.

PART III

VIJAYANAGAR

Painting in the Deccan, prior to and contemporary with the work patronized especially by the Adil Shahi, Nizam Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties, is known inadequately as yet. The major part of monuments falls under the sway of the empire of Vijayanagar which extended also over South India. Two monuments especially will be dealt with here with regard to their paintings[1].

The Sangita-mandapa at Tiruparuttikunram[2] (Jina-Kanci) built by Irugappa, general and minister of Bukka Raya II of Vijayanagar in 1387-88 A.D., despite its situation in Southern India, is historically closely connected with Vijayanagar and the early paintings there reflect on the many which have perished in the capital[3]. The other building is the Uchayappa Matha at Anegundi. Deva Raya, the late minister of Anegundi founded the city of Vijayanagar on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra opposite Anegundi, the capital of the preceding kingdom[4]. The major part of the paintings on the ceiling of this Matha no longer exist[5].

Fragmentary as the Tiruparuttikunram paintings on the first layer are, they yet prove to be of the same date as the Sangita-mandapa, and conform with its reliefs[6]. The following traits are of classical heritage in general :- the position of the figures in the direction of forthcoming[7] ; residues of colour modelling; the movements of the figures refer to the axis of their bodies and they hold their own volume of space.[8] This is also extended to the groups, where the figures are turned towards another in three quarter profile, and at different angles. Of the southern school, from Pallava painting onwards, are the length of slim bodies, the agility of angular movements, the cadence of curves outlining the figures. Of this tradition, the types of crowns,[9] jewellery and apparel, and the manner of painting them belong to the early

Vijayanagar age. Different from the classical mode and its Southern Indian version and equally participating in the form of the Tiruparutti-kunram paintings are a number of traits, clearly shown in fragments of women on horseback[10]. With a patterned bodice and a short patterned dhoti, with the abstract of a feminine body topped by a heavy head, uncrowned, the enormous nose projecting and almost in profile, scraggy and angular movements are desiccated like those of crickets, unaware of the gliding curves of South Indian paintings[11]. Of a physiognomy well known from that of Laksmi in the Kailasanatha painting (Pl. V), is the attendant figure who, with a mirror in hand, eagerly approaches Priyakarini in labour[12]. Her agonized face, although bent in three quarter profile, has been cast similarly and the distinct outlines of these figures are hard and incisive. The difference in the function of outline and the modelled face can be seen on the figure to the left of Priyakarini, which more than any other of the faces still preserved in Tiruparuttikunram is true to South Indian painting.

The medieval factor is unmistakable in these late four-teenth century paintings. Its conventions are akin to those in Elura in the eighth century[13]. Its range extends at this phase, in different idioms from Gujarat[14] to Madras and it sweeps over the whole Deccan[15]. The conquest of Kancipuram by the Calukya kings[16] and later on the rise of the Vijayanagar empire, had brought about an interchange of craftsmen.

The paintings on the ceiling of the Uchayappa Matha at Ane-gundi[17] to-day present a black and white effect with some red lines of the preliminary drawing left. The colours have disappeared but for an eight-petalled white lotus with a yellow centre, surrounded by red, on a blue ground in a niche of the wall. Traces of the same colours are preserved in the spandrils and between the pilasters of the wall. Such a fresh blast of colour must be surmised also in the paintings of the ceiling, constructed of large stone slabs. These are covered with a thin

VIII

PART OF PAINTED CEILING
UCHAYAPPA MATHA, ANEGUNDI

The one panel has a bush in flower, a squirrel, two women and two indistinct and small figures below, in rhythmic concatenation, and two men standing. Large lotus flowers on the upper margin.

The other panel shows a palanquin (partly visible) carried on a pole by two running women[18]; the one in front turns her head towards her companion. A small figure with a lotus bud follows. Lotus garlands are suspended from the top.

Lateral panel with creeper and lotus device. Borders with various lotus devices and dots.

On the wall is a fragment of a frieze with a crowned and bearded figure riding a camel; a running elephant in front.

white plaster. The entire ceiling, it seems, of the pillared Matha had been painted. The fragments here reproduced (Pls. VIII, IX) are in panels of the ceiling of the veranda-like part of the pillared hall. Two paintings facing the opposite way make in each case one panel between the beams of the ceiling, so that half of the paintings can be beheld in proper position each time on going from one end of the veranda to the other[19].

An opulent geometrical creeper with floral allusion occupies a border field. Its modelled form weighs on the surface. Its pattern is applied to the flat ground. The relation is between the painted device modelled in colour on the one and the ground on the other hand. Ground and painted figures are two distinct factors, in which the direction of forthcoming plays a restricted part. This could be seen also in the latest paintings in Elura. In the Anegundi paintings, which can not be prior to the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the figures to a considerable extent adhere in body and movements to classical coinage. They have powerful limbs and vehement gestures. They step with rapid strides, off the border line of the panel into a depth cut off by its flat surface (Pl. IX, the female figure in front of the horse). Such movements demand a space-body which is withheld. Their feet fumble on the border line and they are not made for the tight rope walking which it exacts. They partly get deformed or they trespass upon it to either side of the frame. Not only the feet but whole figures step across the frame which they enter or ignore (Pl. XII, 1). Boldly they persist in carrying their full weight across it. These bodies are not made for the setting into which they are placed. With spacious curves their groups fill a stage. Large lotus flowers and pendants fasten it to the surface. The faces however are almost always in profile or front view. Their firm outline conveys medieval rigour, not always though to the same extent. Forehead and nose are in one peaked line, the large eye

without foreshortening (Pl. XII, 1). In other figures a more sinuous profile with part of the farther eye also visible belongs to some of the many poses which in these paintings are of the classical tradition (Pl. VIII).

The composite profile does not belong to classical painting. It aims at completeness of presentation. The eye is actually in front view while glance and outline are in profile, a combination which repeats in the face what is being done to the body with the chest almost in front view and the limbs in profile. This medieval completeness the two standing figures show who pull up their loin-cloths as a mark of regard for the person in whose presence they presumably stand (Pl. VIII).

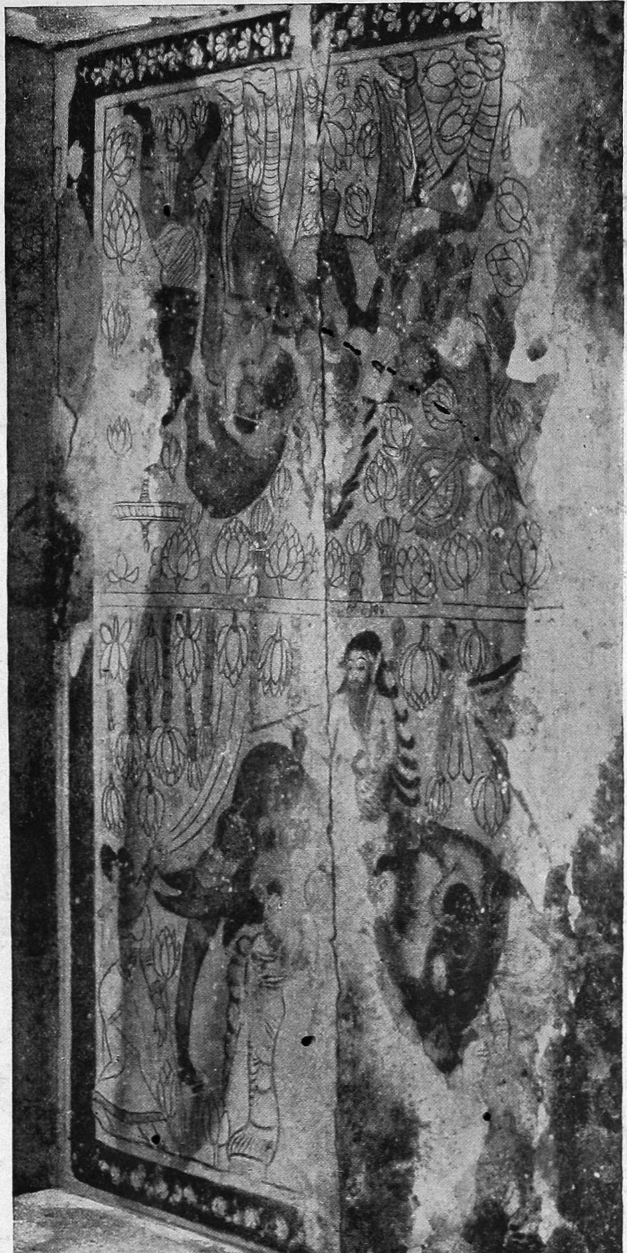
The hold of the classical Indian tradition however is strong in ample curves. These are not freely flowing but they interlace and their rhythm conforms with that of the sturdy creeper in the narrow panel at the side. Striped garments and fluttering tresses further conduct the interlocking curves into spiralic movements, of the single figure and also of the groups, pliant and tough in front of the surface of the ground. The squirrel so well preserved in the colour-modelled roundedness of its body (Pl. VIII, left corner) epitomizes the living factors of this school of painting to the extent to which it is so largely rooted in classical vision. Had this portion of the painting not disappeared altogether or had it been photographed at the proper angle, it would have been a valid representative of a school of painting[20] related in its amplitude to some of the sculptures in the Deccan and of an earlier age[21].

IX

PART OF PAINTED CEILING
UCHAYAPPA MATHA, ANEGUNDI

The one panel, inscribed[22], has a bearded rider with long hair on an elephant made of five women, preceded by a woman waving a cloth. Lotus garlands are suspended from the top[23].

The other panel has a similar rider on a horse, composed of five women, lotuses suspended and scattered over the surface ; in front, a woman with bouncing step carries an umbrella, another at the back of the horse, a fan.



PART IV

THE LAST PHASE

Approximately contemporary with the late phase of Vijayanagar painting as preserved in the Uchayappa Matha at Anegundi[1], are two illustrated manuscripts, the one dated A. D. 1570 and painted in Bijapur under Ali Adil Shah I (1557-1580)[2], the other datable in the third quarter of the sixteenth century when it was begun possibly under Hussain Nizam Shah and continued under Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar[3]. Two centres of painting, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, can be traced from the third quarter of the sixteenth century onward. Golconda and subsequently Hyderabad contributed a large number of paintings.

These three capitals, of the Adil Shahi, the Nizam Shahi[4], and the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda, followed from 1723 by the Asaf Jah dynasty with Hyderabad as capital, were the main seats of painting in the Deccan under Muslim rule. Besides, Poona the capital of the Peshwas in the eighteenth century, the courts of local Rajahs, such as Sholapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool furthered painting. Muslim and Hindu rulers alike were the patrons. Abul Muzaffar Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur in 1489 was the son of one of the emperors of Rum (Asia minor) of the Ottoman family[5]. He invited to his court many learned men from Persia, Turkestan and Rum and also several eminent artists[6]. His successor Ismail Adil Shah was an adept in the art of painting and varnishing, and the connection with the Ottoman Empire continued. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) excelled the masters of calligraphy, drawing and painting[7].

Persian and Turkish form are distinguishable in the illustrations of the illuminated manuscripts. The fusion that came about was spontaneous. Different from Mughal painting under Akbar and Jahangir, no wilful course was dictated by the personal predilections of any of the

rulers and Western painting was not set up as an ideal before the craftsmen, although it reached them directly from Goa and the Coromandel coast and also by the indirect route of Mughal painting[8]. Mutual influences of Mughal and Deccani painters and paintings were inevitable. As far as these were connected with the ruling dynasties, political history has left its records in the fluctuations of motives and pictorial form[9]. The portraits which the Mughal Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan sent to the Adil Shah of Bijapur and to the Qutb Shah of Golconda[10] must have held the attention of painters attached to the Deccan courts for whom the several components of Mughal paintings had a twofold appeal. Along with the major factors of Indian, Persian and Western practice some elements more closely related to traditions still current in Western India and the Deccan had gone into the making of Mughal Art. There were a number of painters from Gujarat among those of the Akbar school[11] and reverberations of their activities are felt in the painted friezes at Pillalmari (Part IV, note 1). Wall paintings in temples and palaces of this age and the preceding centuries must have been abundant in the various parts of the Deccan, in Belur[12], as well as in Vijayanagar, portraits in Bijapur and destroyed by Aurangzeb[13], and later work in Poona in the Shanvar Vada[14], and of the age of Tippu Sultan in Mysore.

The interest shown by the rulers persisted. Abul Hasan Tana Shah of Golconda (1672-1687) settled in his capital and supported skilled craftsmen of various kinds[15]. Apart from the many portraits that were painted of him, a number of illuminated manuscripts seems to have been collected by him with Persian and Mughal paintings[16]. Manuscripts illuminated with Persian paintings belonged also to Ibrahim II Adil Shah[17]. The interpenetration of the several traditions and schools and their concurrence at the Deccani courts accounts as much for a mixed quality, as Deccani painting in its turn

made felt its presence outside the Deccan. Not only in the later phase did Deccani painters work under Mughal rulers, as for instance Mir Mohammad, the painter of the illustrations of the Codex Manucci as well as another painter under Shah Alam[18]. To Mir Hashim who is enumerated among the painters of Shah Jahan[19] and also associated with Jahangir[20] is assigned a portrait of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah[21], another of Malik Ambar[22] is signed with the artist's name. These paintings along with others of Deccani personalities form one consistent series which can be distinguished from contemporary Mughal work. The name of Mir Hashim may stand as that of the foremost exponent of this Deccani type of painting. It may be taken as emblematic of one tradition of which for some time he was a leading exponent. In this sense the portrait signed with the name of Sultan Mohammad Qutb-ul-Mulk may be associated with Mir Hashim's work.

Not only the painters but also the paper on which they worked in the various centres, had become known by its quality. Ali Effendi who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century counts amongst twelve varieties of paper of quality manufactured between Damascus and Cathay, three of Deccani make, Daulatabadi, Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi[23].

Apart from Mir Hashim, a painter of the greatest merit and who has left a considerable number of signed works[24], several names of craftsmen are known besides those already mentioned[25]. Tajalli Ali Shah is one more name, of a distinguished poet, prose writer and painter. He painted a portrait of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah II and fixed in it diamonds which he obtained from the king. He was awarded five thousand rupees for it. This was a life-size portrait[26]. Individual names matter only as far as they are those of exponents of one or the other tradition.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A. BIJAPUR

Painting under the patronage of the Deccani dynasties was not deflected from its course by the order or taste of any of the rulers. Turkish and Persian elements entered largely into Deccani painting following political events. No documents of painting as yet have become known of the early Adil Shah rulers. We may accept them to have been in the Turkish and Persian manner. The Nujum-al-Ulum (Star of the Sciences) illuminations of the year 1570, painted in the reign of Ali Adil Shah I, are in part local adaptations of Timurid, early Safawi and also Turkish modes of painting while specially the thirty-sixth chapter "on the subjugation of fairies and super-natural things, according to Indian and Khurasani method", is illustrated with power and logic. Various schools are yoked in these paintings by one more consistent tradition. Ali Adil Shah's predecessor, Ibrahim Adil Shah had laid aside the Persian preferences of his ancestors, he encouraged Hindi instead of Persian and Brahmins acquired great influence in his government[27]. These fluctuations are also recorded in the paintings.

Up to fol. 240, the illuminations of the Nujum-al-Ulum obviously endeavour to appear Persian, yet whatever reference they bear to Persian painting does relatively little to connect them with contemporary Safawi work. Safawi motives such as the lambent, thinly convoluted 'tai' cloud and the very slender shrubs with their easy sway abound, while they are part of a setting which has a closer affinity with Timurid painting of the early fourteenth century. There is none of the complex relation between figure and ground as prevails in Safawi miniatures, no

X

NUJUM-AL-ULUM
DURMATI

fol. 279 v

The Ruhani is described as sorrowful and perplexed on account of the fighting parties. Those behind her will be victorious and she is full of grief on account of those in front of her who will be vanquished and ruined.

Colours: Indian red corners with gold arabesques ('tai'-cloud derivates), black scalloped line against a light yellow ground with golden shrubs, etc. The figure has a purple outline, pale pink complexion, discoloured vermilion sari (now reddish brown), purple coli, bluish green skirt flamed black and gold, also the end of the sari. Golden jewellery with dots impressed; white beads in black hair.

(size of the original).

SAMA

fol. 262 v.

The Ruhani is seated in lalitasana attitude; she holds the 'windshell' and the Vina.

Colours: Deep mauve ground with golden designs. Saffron complexion, discoloured vermilion sari, edged bluish green. Light blue coli, golden and white bead jewellery. Outline of face purple, otherwise black. Details carried out in gold. Conch-shell white, gourds of Vina black.

(size of the original)

Library Chester Beatty

twofold mode of showing the figures level with the eye and the ground or the buildings as if in bird's eye view[28]. There is no scope for such a multiple perspective for the relatively large figures are placed on a coloured ground which has various designs. Bundles of grass or plants of different size, culled from Persian painting of Timurid and Safawi tradition but ultimately at home in India, where its function in the painting had been of a wider connotation (p. 26), are aligned on it, alternating with cloud devices in the upper parts of the painted panels ; or the vividly coloured ground is altogether strewn with such cloud devices where there are no figures. Yet these clouds here are nothing more than arabesques and the rounded high horizon, where it is indicated has the same function as the cusped arch which makes an inner frame for some of the single and large figures of the Ruhanis (Pl. X, 1). The entire panel is one surface as it had been in early Timurid paintings and even in a stricter sense, for the figures, with rare exceptions, show their heads outlined in strict profile even if the chest is displayed in full expanse or in three quarter profile. The eye too, drawn with mature Safawi foreshortening has a tendency to display its full length even in the profile so that the figures conform with the principle of complete visibility.

The costumes are mixed Perso-Deccani in these paintings[29], and their trim outlines hold clear and contrasting colour surfaces, more familiar with the Persian palette, than are the outlines with those of Persian figures. Their flux they convert into a staid solidity, ponderous in the horizontal. The downward gliding ease of the Persian line they transmute into an amplitude near to the right angle and charged with a movement as much banked as it is fierce. In these illuminations, the work of artisans, impoverished in their means* and provincial from a Safawi point of view, a determined movement is unmistakable. This is the most vital feature of these paintings. That the figures are relatively

large in proportion to the painted panel makes them seem to adhere to early Timurid conventions[30] whereas their squareness displays the compact manner of Turkish form which has its counterpart, albeit not stylistically but as a symptom, in the squaring up of form in Elura, from the eighth century. The Persian idiom, in an antiquated parlance is familiar to the artisans who illustrated the Nujum-al-Ulum and also the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi manuscript[31]. In both the manuscripts however, the dominating factor draws determined directions across the painted surface. A reduction of Safawi formulae into terms of surface is the negative aspect of its crude power. In the Nujum-al-Ulum paintings its determination is relevant of placing coloured massives accurately outlined and with a propelling power, into a surface sprinkled with delicate Persian motives of Indian and Chinese antecedents.

Around the determined movement of the leading figures, they make the ground vibrant. This quality is absent from most of the plain colour surfaces of the Hussain Shahi manuscript illustrations. It remains a distinguishing feature in book illustrations and paintings of Bijapur, during the subsequent centuries[32]. The illuminations of the Nujum-al-Ulum which favour Persian types show but thinly disguised even in their indifferent quality the traits by which the illustrations of the Ruhanis are strong.

In the paintings of the Ruhanis (Pls. X-XI)[33], the spiritual overlords of their respective spheres, straight and spontaneous lines dart up from no centre. They seek the angle and are valid only in relation to its vertex. There they acquire solidity to be commuted into another direction. Such angles do not hold; they only give out. Rectangle or widely open, coercion into the narrow and pointed is unknown. Curves too, have the open leisure as well as the arresting quality of these angles. Sustained by an exalted determination, their flux is staid. Actually they are near to straight lines and their disguise is looped as scarf and cloth

XI

NUJUM-AL-ULUM

SUBHAKI

fol. 243 r.

Subbaki[34], the Ruhani of the sixth 'earth' has a crown on her head. One attendant holds a sunshade, the other a fly-whisk. She is seated and another attendant massages her foot. She has a child on her lap.

Colours : Light yellowish-green ground, discoloured. Golden tufts of vegetation. The figures have light complexions, pinkish or white. Sari of standing figures on left Indian red, coli light blue; kneeling figure : saffron coloured sari edged red, coli cobalt blue ; figure of Subhaki : vermilion sari (discoloured), saffron coloured coli, cobalt blue triangular skirt with a saffron central part (discoloured). Standing figure on right : discoloured sari (buff), cobalt blue coli. Reds of sun-shade and fly-whisk. Golden jewellery edged with flat white pearls.

(3. 9/16×3⅞)

Library Chester Beatty

around bodies straight in their angles. Similarly limbs are hooked and every joint is charged. Where a foot is being massaged or a child is held on an arm (Pl. XI), each appears a precious and electrified thing. Long fingers if any at all, for hands there need not be and stumps are enough to shoot forth in definite directions, fling about their gestures and no other mark do they leave but that of the thaumaturgic energy with which they are laden. So also are the profiles. Their angularity fits tightly, mitigated by shallow curves, the blank expanse of the face, which but for them would function as vertex only or as a hinge like the elbow or shoulder. They have scarcely any foreheads to speak of but these are precipitated with a keen moderation into noses of high breeding. Beaked and inane, the line of the compressed lips is a clasp to the face which binds its banked power securely against the outside, just as the wide open eye is secured, far-sighted and sullen at the ear, so as not to shoot off, but to stay with its power contained. Determined and capricious the witch-like chins and jaws make up for the lack of forehead. There is no thought and only will in these tightly fitting masks of a truculent power.

Caught are all the figures in a rectangular network. It may be straight or else diagonally cast so that no particle of the visible surface escapes the twofold pull. In the meshes of the spell which they themselves cast the figures are caught. Their garments are flecked or streaked as alertly as the ground itself, with grass and shrubs. These scatter their ephemeral movements with a persistent thrill all over the coloured ground. On entering the garments they are transformed into scrolls and dots ; their vibrant energy does not change. Wreathing in concord into a fabric of feathery and flowering shrubs or altogether flecked vertiginously with the repercussions of conch shell blow and Vina sound are the garments, shrubs and grass as well (Pl. X, 2, etc).

Such vibrations keep the painting astir. Indissolubly the figures adhere to it and there is much golden jewellery impressed as if by hammering on the painted surface so that the figures cannot get away from the spell which they cast while it supports them.

In these paintings multifarious factors interact. Brushed on to the surface with a fiercely careless hand, they make heroically rhythmic patterns. They are caught up from the plenum of the ground. It is the ground which is primary and it transpires across the figures, makes the garments gay with spots, streaks and arabesques and makes the figures within their clear definition, the harbingers of portents.

A restlessness stirs in all these illuminations. A flicker pervades them, is caught up within the outlines of the figures and is also shot forth from there. On this sputtering level nets are cast by will itself and the figures are caught within their meshes so tightly that their traits conform with them. It is not their own will and they act by compulsion to such an extent that they have become the very shape of that compulsion. In rectangular concatenations it pulls hither and thither, sways the surface and such is its action that it keeps straight the figures which are placed and shaped by it. Plank-like they keep themselves erect. Great and heroic are their attitudes in obeyance to and conterminous with an infinite pattern of rectangular concatenation. It holds each figure as the cobweb holds the spider from which it originates. Their movements are neither quick nor slow. They are strong and the heroism which they convey is fated. They are aspects of will in anthropomorphic terms. A heroic phantasmagoria is implied in the ground on which it is limned. Its commuted life makes a supine vegetation on flaming soil. Will and rhythm, will and appearance are one. On these magic planes the pattern is willed and obeyed in one. The will does not proceed from any individual centre. It is cast, an infinite net and nothing is caught but its own strength. This is not spent contained in the

surface, looped and knotted, according to its own measure, it is maintained.

Never would it occur to ask for the other and invisible half of the face or part of these figures. They are phantoms and have none. Unceasingly while directed into the far away, their eyes cross horizontally the expanse of the profile ; yet they are as steady in their position as the vertical that upholds them. Part of an endless pattern, the figure is charged throughout with the total of its energy.

The edges of their robes bulge and curl up, while they touch upon the nearness of elemental fire. Its draught also licks the fly-whisk into shape (Pl. XI).

On such a consuming level, transformation is rapid. The flaming ground, all a-flicker across the figures and their robes, is converted into the energy of line and dot. Movement and fixation interchange their function at random, the one surcharged with energy, the other spellbound in its directions.

The scintillating chargedness of the ground and the rectilinear solidity of the figures staid within fluid outlines are compelling features. Diminished they persist along with the ground in the slipshod illustrations of the Khawar-namah manuscript of the India Office Library[35].

The writer of this manuscript which is a Deccani metrical version of a Persian poem, had been employed at the court of the Sultan of Bijapur where his ancestors had been in service for seven generations. His patron was Khadija, the daughter of Mohammad Amin Qutb Shah, son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda and wife of Sultan Mohammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. The date of completion is given at the conclusion of the work as A. H. 1059, i.e. A. D. 1649. On a middle blue or mauve-pink ground as a rule, motifs are scattered of contemporary Persian origin blended with mid-seventeenth devices of Deccani

paintings bent with a tough sinuosity of line which persists especially in the female figures despite their varied costumes and changed types[36]. The profile of complete visibility predominates and it is only along with Westernisms that other views are introduced. Whatever the elements are, they are scattered on the ground along with tufts of foliage of Persian pattern reminiscent of Nujum-al-Ulum usage or else in the manner of Chinoiseries (Fol. 489) in a cold scale of colours, on a rough and unburnished paper with very little gold. Hurriedly set down there is movement in the surface still vibrant, and in it share the large tufts of varied vegetation and the human figures. The line itself however is as powerless as the pallid colouring.

A number of paintings of the seventeenth century are painted in a similar manner with the surfaces of figures outweighing the scintillating chargedness of the ground[37].

The power and consistency of the Ruhani paintings in the Nujum-al-Ulum have their reverberations in subsequent works from Bijapur with an increasing admixture of Persian, Mughal and Western motives. In the Khawar-namah illustrations, shading of a Western type has invaded some of the figures, Western 'impressionism' the tree devices and some of the faces. They are small featured and with softened curves due to Mughal prototypes. A variety of positions are introduced and divert into many gestures the one collected movement which had the fierce exclusiveness of the profile as its carrier. Yet these remote efforts towards capturing the fleeting appearance are still inscribed in the colour surface of the ground, and become futile by the side of the rhythm; despite their up to date gesticulations it still assigns them their position and function on the colour ground. The persistence of flat ground, directed movement and of the profile of perfect visibility despite the presence of disintegrating factors gives further importance to the type of the Ruhani illustrations. They are in

fact the earliest hitherto known paintings definitely dated in which the rigorous profile view of the greatest visibility, the flat and strewn ground and directed movements are consistent pictorial factors. Such consistency does not come about under the influence of but recently acquired elements [38]. On the contrary these are set according to its logic. Its age of formation must be surmised to go back to the devolution of classical painting and the re-adaptation of its terms, after the sixth century as instanced by the painting of the Sibi Jataka in cave I, Ajanta. It is akin in type to Rajput painting in the plains and in the Himalayas. The Western Indian school with paintings mainly from Gujarat is another cognate school, and some of its features are also shaped in Elura (Pl. V).

They are well defined. Gujarati illustrations contemporary with those of the Nujum-al-Ulum and the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi abound and also from an earlier age, that is from the twelfth century. As they belong to a school nearest in time and place to Deccani painting, their salient features may be summed up in order to make clear the relatedness and difference of these schools.

In Gujarati paintings the panels are filled with figures, each occupying a compartment of its own made up of the figure and its accoutrements. This produces compact surfaces which are varied by internal colour, patterns and lines. The outline itself of the several compacts as a rule is broken by fluttering scarves, etc. and irregular indentations. Where not broken, it favours ovoid shape[39].

The compartmental sectioning of the surface, if accompanied by floral devices, prefers their appearance as dots or else as twigs with paeony like flowers and blotched foliage. The rambling movement of stalks is not insisted upon. Analogously the dress patterns, if they consist of circles with flowers inscribed, show them concentric, dot-like and not as intertwining arabesques. Apart from the dot and

circle which are static devices and conform with the sectioning, the zigzag is preferred as dress pattern, 'hill' motif, facial outline and movement of the figures. Not the curvilinear flux, but the zigzag is also the manner of adaptation of decorative devices of Persian arabesque type.

Body and garment are coordinated in linear terms. The body, a derivative of classical Indian type, has a pattern conforming with, and alongside of that of the garment and apparel. The roundness of the body is exaggerated so as to yield curves and angles corresponding to the total design. Its staid unrest marks also the outline of the profile, with the farther eye projecting.

In the secular scenes of the Vasanta-Vilasa from Ahmadabad[40] painted in 1451 A. D. the sectioning of the painted panels is equally conspicuous, despite the more free movement of the figures while the several part-surfaces occupied by the figures are invaded and traversed by flamboyant indentations. These as well as the vegetation motifs are wide with sinuosities and yet the creeper like oscillations of stems of trees, etc. have no movement which would carry on their direction. On the contrary, with a forceful bend their own movement ends with their shape. It does not organize the painting. It is arrested within its compartment, exuberant and agitated. The wide flux of the Nujum-al-Ulum curves, suave by their Persian component and large in their determined rectilinear connectedness, offers contrasts. Yet, that both systems compositionally are referable to a rectilinear scheme of surface organisation, connects these two schools of medieval painting.

With a greater fluency amongst Western Indian paintings, the illustrations of the Balagopalastuti[41] by movements repeated in one sense or else symmetrical, show the single figures joined into groups. The curve deflected horizontally predominates and tends to square up the single figures.

The Persian element, as a rule, is part of Western Indian work after the fifteenth century, in such minor devices as arabesque borders, etc. painted in a blotched and rapid manner in conformity with the general character[42]. At times however a direct attempt at translation is noticeable of Persian types and their setting, into Indian form[43]. Late Timurid horsemen are assembled and fill the allotted panels compactly so as not to allow for the free dispersion of coloured entities on the surface, in the manner of the Persian prototype. A triangle on top accompanied by busts of men carrying flags, stands for the high horizon or hill motif behind which the figures are meant to emerge. In one panel, to the right of the written text, the horsemen are superimposed candelabra-wise and along intersecting diagonals in the main. They are displayed with reference to the surface; in the panel on the same page to the left of the written text, their horizontally superimposed rows speak a more varied language. The lowermost row shuffles the figures slantingly, an ancient Indian device, the next one however shows the array of horsemen right in front view, and the two next rows are shuffled again although in the opposite direction. The plenitude of figures in close vicinity is an early Indian feature and the varieties of foreshortening employed in this connection resemble those at Elura of the last phase[44]; the late Timurid types moreover are adjusted to a rectangularity of movement and outline. This stamps them as of the Western Indian school. In this translation only the arabesque border has preserved its Persian delicacy. Contrary to its appearance elsewhere in Western Indian paintings, it is in this case the only part not absorbed into the Western Indian form organism.

In the illustrations on the other hand of the Nujum-al-Ulum, the Persian devices keep the surface vibrant without making it mottled. While it is traversed by intersecting diagonals it is not composed in an additive manner by figures and rectangles that hold

them. It is of little avail to consider separately a Hindu and a Mohammadan style in these painting. Turko-Persian elements are present without exception and where Persian motives, or costumes prevail, they are yet employed in the same manner as in those paintings where the Indian factor is more obvious, with the help of Indian costumes, etc.

Deccani painting under Muslim rule and preserved only from the sixteenth century onwards, is but the last link of a long chain. The Turko-Persian elements are absorbed into a predisposed organism. The driving power of linear movement which is not within the classical Indian tradition had met in Elura a tendency towards the surface. This the classical tradition had approached with the last paintings in Ajanta (reception scene ; Sibi Jataka in cave I). Seen in this long connection, the surface, it is obvious, is not empty, even when ultimately it is but an expanse of uniform colour. In the latter respect the Persian tradition had an appeal not to be resisted. Its colours remain clear even when outlined by the hands of provincial artisans, as in some of the Nujum-al-Ulum illustrations (fol. 17, 211 v., etc.). Their introduction provokes at the same time a reconsideration of the Indian palette and the paintings of the Ruhanis are rich with its more earthy tones. Indian red for instance is largely used.

In this restricted mode of painting, the figures are part of the colour surfare. The metaphysical direction of forthcoming is reduced to the point. There is only one level of the figure and its surroundings.

The portraits painted by Mir Hashim after 1600 A. D. of the king of Golconda and of Malik Ambar give ultimate shape to this conception. That Westernisms of modelling could be embodied in the figures in complete conformity with the underlying type proves its validity. It has no nobler versions than the two portraits of Deccani rulers. It is as frequent in Deccani and Mughal as in later Rajput painting. The

XII

UCHAYAPPA MATHA

Detail of Pl. IX.

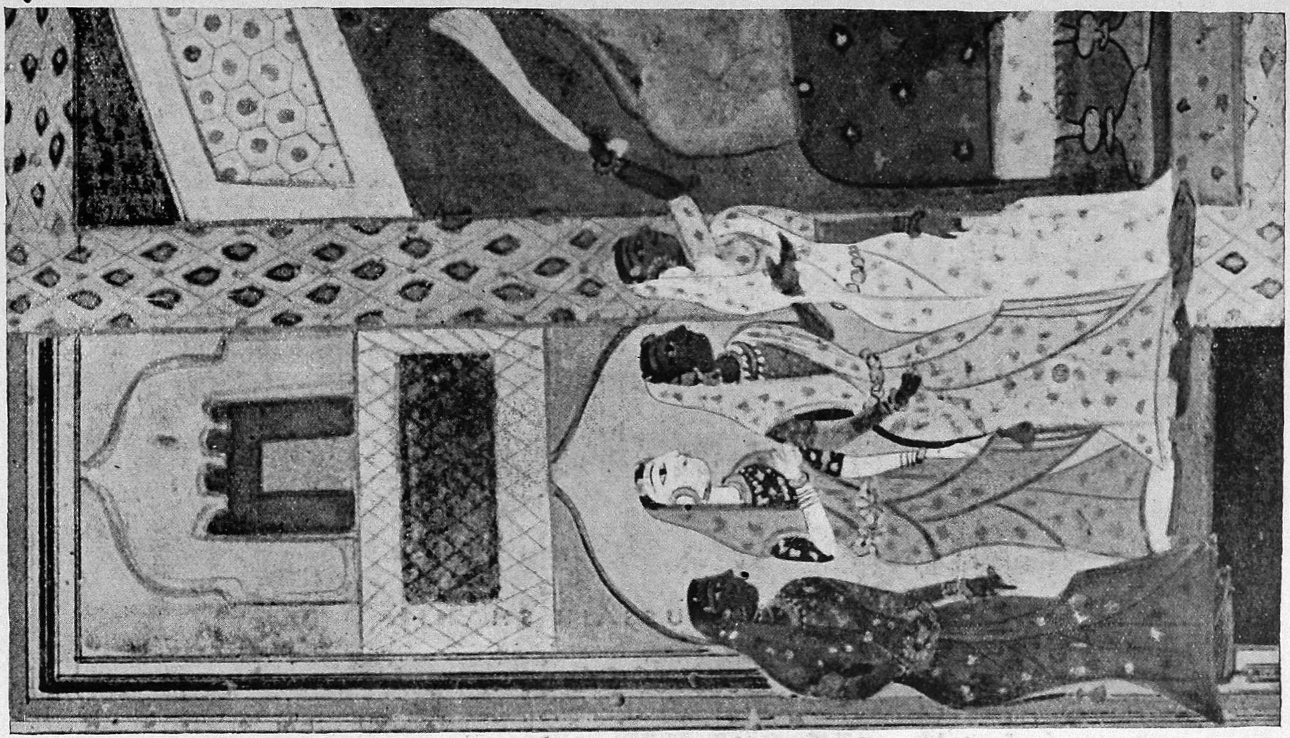
TARIF-I-HUSSAIN SHAHI

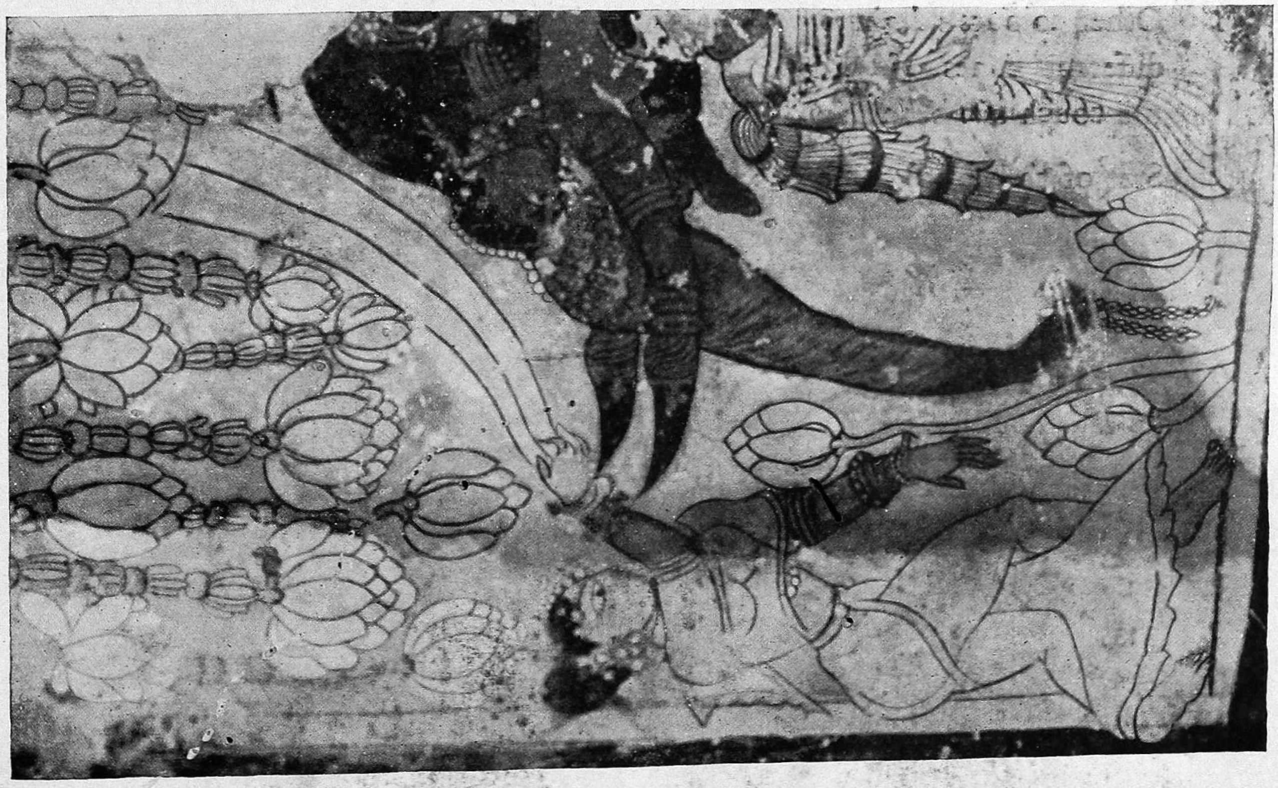
Detail of fol. 44[45].

Colours : border : gold, black, different tones of brown, bluish green ; section on left : ground light pink, spandrils of lower part gold. Other colours : light blue, yellow, dark green, deep red, gold ; saris in different tones of yellow, light blue and white. The female figure on the couch has been wiped out.

Size of the entire original painting (5·6×7)"

Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala
Poona





colour ground in all degrees of luminosity, golden or of the colour of lapis-lazuli or else and preferably turquoise green is its most conspicuous part. In this type of painting as well as in all the other works, excepting wall decorations (Pl. XIV) the composition or else the one and only figure is not conceived with regard to the vertical axis of the painting. It may be upheld in some paintings (Pls. X, 1 ; XXIV, 1) and indicated in others (Pl. XXI) as one possibility amongst others of balanced composition.

B. *AHMADNAGAR*

The Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi illustrations from Ahmadnagar (Pls. XII, 2 ; XIII) are similarly constituted to those of the Nujum-al-Ulum paintings. They are equally symptomatic and their components comprise a wider range. The setting however has less power. There are palace and garden scenes, others illustrate the battle of Raksasa Tagidi of the year 1565 and the defeat of the Hindu army. The battle scenes are shown in more or less strict alignments, three across the breadth of the page, one on top of the other. The colour surfaces of the alignments with their figures are the more squared up as horses and elephants are decked with covers. They form large and patterned surfaces. Care is taken to make the figures encroach upon the painted border lines and also into the text, obviously, in this case a Persian reminiscence. The palace scenes lay out the architecture in clumsy panels in which Timurid tradition is encumbered partly by attempts along Western avenues of shading some of the frames and by making walls appear substantial. Such heaviness however is absent in the groups of women. Consistent in type, costume and treatment, they too are shuffled in irregular alignments and more or less cohesive coloured surfaces. In these their thin length appears as a sinuous movement in colour which partitions and makes rhythmical the surface.

The figures are nearer by the sinuosity of their body curve and by some of their gestures, or by the ascending impetuosity of waving the cloth, to the attendant figure from the ceiling of the Uchayappa Matha at Anegundi than to those of the Bijapur Ruhanis (Pl. XII, 1 and 2).

In the Anegundi paintings however the possibilities of movement are manifold and still within the classical tradition, as for instance that of the running figure, in front of the horse in three-quarter back view (Pl. IX). From such spontaneous but now futile efforts of stepping back into the 'borderland' the figures here are precluded, compelled as they are to conform with the surface (see also the figure of the masseuse, Pl. XI). Nor has the modelling line any scope. Only the curves of the sari as they encompass the hips are suggestive to some extent of the sinuous vitality of curve on the Anegundi figure (Pl. XII, 1). The linearism of this fully clad version of the female figure is further accentuated by the thick and long tresses which follow the outline. In Anegundi also, the tresses play their part (Pl. VIII, upper half). They follow with quickened gyrations the body, twisted across space. The profile of the faces in the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi paintings, appears a polite version of the Ruhani type, and there is not much difference in the Anegundi profiles either.

When however the 'effects of the bride's beauty' are shown with trees bursting into blossom (Pl. XIII), the ground once more is a-stir with flowers. Moreover, this illustration is related to the Gujarati painting of Krsna expecting Radha, of the Boston Museum[46]. It is inscribed in Gujarati. The middle figure (Pl. XIII) varies from the slender line of the female figure of the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi. It comes nearer to those in the Gujarati painting in which also the wild date palm figures, and the couch, an indispensable requisite in the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi palace scenes[47]. The Gujarati painting however is still

XIII

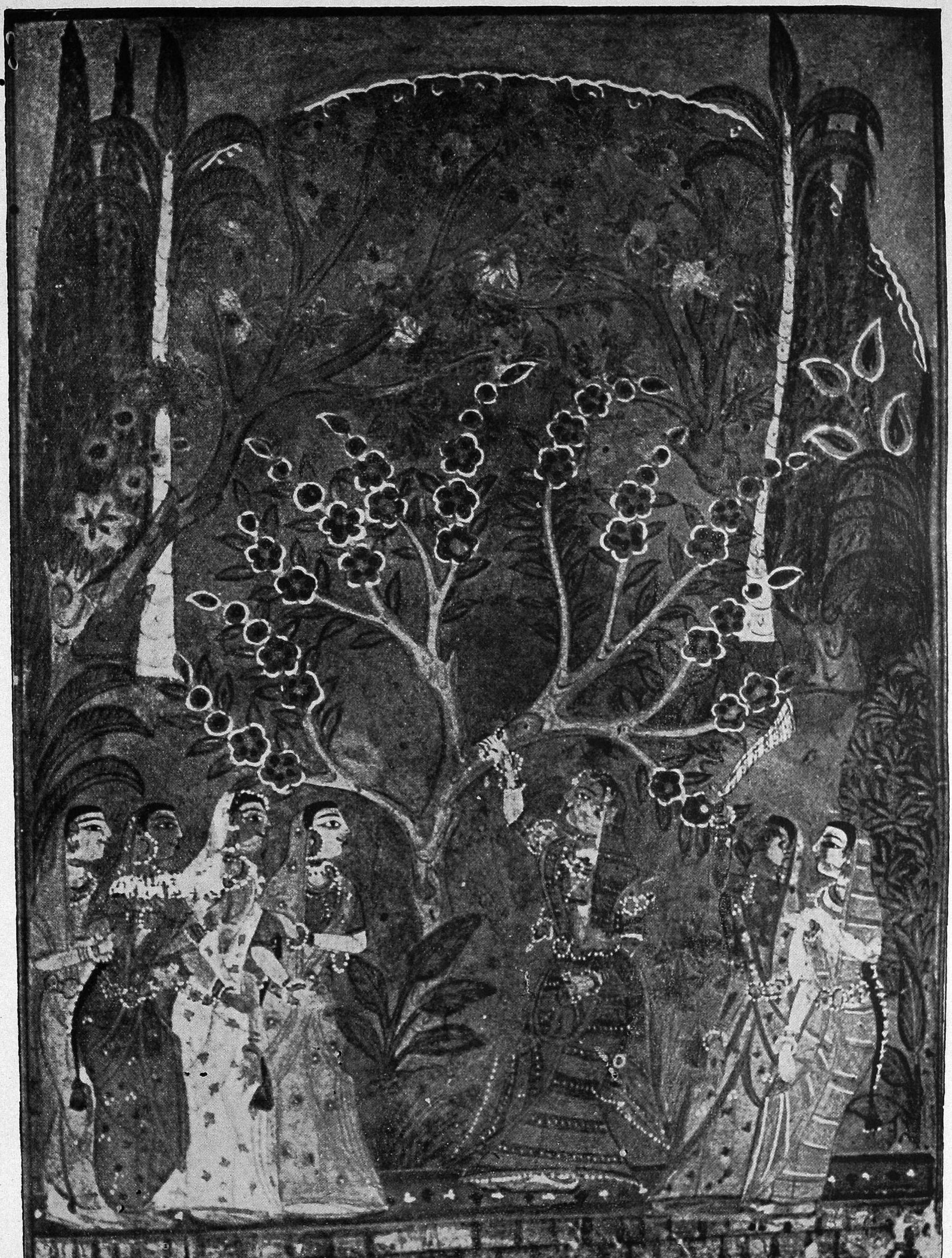
TARIF-I-HUSSAIN SHAHI,

fol. 58[4B] "Effects of the beauty of the bride."

Colours :- Ground deep blue ; wall at bottom whitish green with blue black ; different tones of yellow predominate in the dresses of the women, interspersed with light blue and striped with gold and browns (the third and seventh figures from the left). The greens, gold and browns of the trees are relieved by flowers, yellow, gold and pink etc. in the tones of the saris.

(5·2×7·1)"

Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala
Poona



more within the classical Indian tradition, inasmuch as the direction of forthcoming is not only indicated by the figures coming through the gate, but also by the tilted ground on which trees and figures are set. The trees too are derived from classical Indian prototypes whereas the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi vegetation in the main is that of Safawi paintings coarsened and partly agitated by Western 'pleinairism' (the two trees, top, centre). Trees painted according to Indian convention stand guard at the bottom, on either side and behind a narrow strip of ground for which the vertical surfaces of the figures have not much use. The wall below means that it is in front of the garden, and the light coloured and crinkled line above demarcates the high horizon. Both go back to much used formulae, the one in Indian, the other in Persian painting. In this instance it matters that the heterogeneous devices all fall into the surface and are brought back to its terms.

The Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi illustrations from Ahmadnagar incorporate Turkish compactness in the irregular alignments of the Raksasa Tagidi battle scenes[49]; they preserve to some extent the sinuosity of Vijayanagar tradition in the outline of the female figures and they also assimilate Safawi vegetation and current Indian idioms of a diction not exclusively of the Deccan (Pl. XII). Patterned with so many elements, the mode of combining them is consistent in its referenee to the surface.

No other paintings are known as yet connected with the Nizam Shahi dynasty whereas in Bijapur the particular mode of the Nujum-al-Ulum illustrations is carried into the eighteenth century. The two major manuscripts from Bijapur, the Nujum-al-Ulum and the Khawar-namah are directly associated with the Adil Shahi court. Neither the illustrations of the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi, nor of the two Bijapur manuscripts have the features of court art ; the one a treatise on the sciences, the others poems on the marriage and victory of Hussain Nizam Shah, and on the exploits and battles of Caliph Ali, are painted

with spontaneity and with little care as to details of execution or of ostentation. They are representative of Deccani painting of the sixteenth century in which Islamic and Hindu traditions have become inseparable.

C. MUGHAL AND WESTERN ELEMENTS

Miniature painting in the Deccan of the sixteenth century similar to that of the Mughals seems to start with book illustrations. It differs in this respect from contemporary 'Rajput' paintings where detached pages of painting only are known of this phase. The bound book, of Persian origin[50] with its nearness of script and painting on the page, is followed closely in the Bijapur manuscripts, whereas the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi paintings occupy the major part of the page and are less intimately connected with the written text. Nevertheless, contemporary paintings outside the Mughal school are close to the Deccani work, and in one case at least seem to be linked with it geographically[51].

Mughal painting however, with the large share of Western elements in its structure has no direct bearing on the type hitherto discussed of Deccani painting in the sixteenth century. Leaving aside the necessary affinities due to related components of which both the schools are constituted, in its formative, i.e. artistically vital aspect, Mughal painting under Akbar has only the power of movement in common with sixteenth century painting in the Deccan. Following however the taste of the Mughal patron the powerful movement is humanized and is turned into agitated gestures of the several figures.

As soon as the personal interest and incentive given by the emperors relaxed, the detour made in obedience to an Imperial taste by the court painters of Akbar and Jahangir, had to fall back upon the broader foundations of Indian art as it had shaped outside the Imperial studio in Delhi. This came about under Shah Jahan, under whom

moreover Deccani influences were strong, until under Aurangzib the empire was actually centred in Burhanpur and Aurangabad[52]. The share of Deccani elements in Mughal painting from Shah Jahan onwards is conspicuous. The attainments moreover of Mughal painting due to Western prototypes found their way also into the Deccan, besides their direct import via Goa, etc.

The picture of a 'Yogini' in Mr. Chester Beatty's library[53], with a Renaissance castle on Persian hills high up behind her bejewelled costume, - the goldsmith's work being extended also to the centre of large floral devices on either side - idyllically exhibits her gorgeous presence against a dictionary display of well painted devices of all the available contemporary resources. Such a compilation contemporary as it is within five years, with the Nujum-al-Ulum illustrations shows that despite attempts at Western perspective, the rigour of the surface glowing with colour is paramount. With all the meticulous execution of details intended to have a three-dimensional effect, the one actually achieved is that of the surface studded with the heavy glow of colours in staid masses. The intended illusion of scarves fluttering in three dimensional space is not produced. Vying in painted workmanship with Crivelli's mastery, the pattern stays in the surface. The same refers to the leaves near by. Their ostensible foreshortening results in one more different pattern on the surface. The foreground on which the figure stands terminates with a sharp contrast and scraggy outline against the hilly middle ground; with its castle and trees culled from many sources it towers above the main figure and ascends to the upper margin of the painting. The activity of the contemporary Deccani principles of form can be seen in the misinterpretation which they effect according to their innate logic.

Similar in kind but more successful in assimilating a pleinairism shared by some work of the Akbar school, is the painting of an

elephant in a landscape[54]. The landscape there merges the colours and outlines of trees and houses into a toned curtain, a soft expanse around the elephant. Its figure is modelled in colour with classically Indian and contemporary Western knowledge. The resuscitation of the modelled form within the Akbar school[55] is here taken up; but it is strong with contrasting colours and golden trappings more lavish and elaborate even than the jewellery of the Yogini or of the Ruhanis. The figure of the elephant is fastened into the surface of the landscape curtain. Toned or else contrasting colour composition rest on one denominator in common, i.e. on the rule of the surface.

A painting in the Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin, of an 'Emperor of the Deccan'[56] is closely connected with the Yogini of the Chester Beatty collection. This painting and that of the elephant in Mr. Mehta's collection are the two leading examples of painting in Bijapur with an influx of Western elements and of the Akbar school. The Emperor of the Deccan shown here asleep, intoxicated, is Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) and he is also portrayed in a later miniature in the Hyderabad Museum[57]. Later portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah confirm the identification of the painting in Berlin [58]. It must have been painted about 1600 A. D. or later. The group of paintings from Bijapur with a marked assimilation of Western elements is distinguished by a firm and ponderous splendour. The illusion of three dimensional volume as well as atmospheric perspective sink into the coloured surface and widen its range.

To this aspect of Deccani painting in Bijapur belongs a portrait on gold ground of a personage enthroned and accompanied by three attendants, one a boy offering pan[59]. A peculiar mannerism of showing the pupil as a vertical line is possibly a misunderstood way of making it a small dot according to the work of Farrukh Beg, in the Mughal manner of the late sixteenth century[60]. The pattern of the full and

modelled lips turned into a similarly dot-like effect is in keeping with the impressed dots of jeweller's work peculiar to Deccani paintings. This may also be a portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, painted about 1600 A. D. or later.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. PORTRAIT

In the later part of the rule of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1580-1627 A.D.) and of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda (1581-1611 A.D.) one type of painting reaches the apex of its possibilities. This is the profile portrait of perfect visibility, on a monochrome coloured ground, and left without colour in portrait drawings. As far as preserved paintings go it is the preferred form of portraiture in the Deccan from the early seventeenth century onward. Its type has no antecedents in the Mughal school of Akbar[61] nor are Persian portraits immediate prototypes although they are painted on a monochrome coloured ground. They avoid the profile of the face and conform with the Persian tradition of the three quarter profile. The rigour of the profile however is ineluctable in Deccani painting of the sixteenth century. It is as has been shown part of the entire vision. This most conspicuous feature is maintained along with the surface character of its surroundings. This is not the only type of portrait painting of this phase in the Deccan, but it is the most outstanding in importance.

Mir Hashim has left among others two signed paintings, the one of Mohammad Qutb Shah of Golconda, the other of Malik Ambar, the latter most probably showing him while he ruled from Kirki-Aurangabad[62]. In the Boston Museum are three paintings of Malik Ambar, his son Fath Khan and the boy Nizam Shahi, set up as Sultan of Ahmadnagar in 1635[63]. They are painted in the manner of the two signed portraits by Mir Hashim and extend into the second quarter of the seventeenth century. It may be that Mir Hashim was a painter of the Deccan who joined the school of Jahangir in the second decade of

of the seventeenth century. This is more likely than to assume that a painter of the Jahangir school should have accomplished his noblest portraits in the case of Deccani rulers or when adapting himself to the Deccani type of painting. The change of style in the work of Mir Hashim after he joined the Mughal school is no more surprising than that of Abdus Samad after he became a court painter in Delhi. The intricate and gnarled psychology of Mughal personalities drawn by Mir Hashim after he had joined the Mughal school differs from the firm facial outline and largeness of conception of his portraits of Deccani rulers. The subsequent phases of Mir Hashim's work lie outside the scope of this survey. Later on his work followed every fashion and deteriorated[64]. His sensibility must have been of the quickest response and in his early work open to the commands of deep-seated traditions. The landscape with the two Sufi Shaikhs[65] must have been painted shortly after his having joined the school of Jahangir.

In the type of profile portrait of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah, one colour floods the surface of the painting from top to bottom either of which in other paintings (Pl. XX) may be indicated, scanty grass or flower border at the bottom and horizontal streaks of clouds on top (Pl. XXIV, 1)[66]. These may as well be absent so that no limits of any name obstruct the evenness of the ground. There is no horizon and but the faintest indications of below and above, flowers and clouds, may leave their marks. In-between there is no differentiation. A turquoise blankness or it may be that another colour is employed in the same manner, for instance a strawberry rose[67], is tantamount to the golden expanse of the ground as in the painting of the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

The placing of the figures, against colour by itself and free from form is the most frequent setting of portraits from the Deccan. Mughal portraits from the age of Jahangir are similarly set and so are

Persian portraits of the early sixteenth century[68]. The earliest versions of this relation of figure and ground within Islamic painting belongs to the Baghdad School, of the fourteenth century[69].

The portrait however in the profile view of perfect visibility circumscribes the person in the uniqueness of his features. It tends towards isolation even when, and this is generally the case, body and costume are typically representative and act as carriers of the face.

The relation of figure and ground is not only one of antithesis of the formless intensity of colour and the circumscribed figure with its individualized face. The latter is surrounded by the former and if at the time of portraying it is before the eye of the painter, it is yet posterior to the existence of the formless ground, in his mind.

This formless ground, pre-eminently green, in the case of drawings is left blank and frequently of the natural colour of the paper. An easy objection can be made that obviously in the case of such a portrait, drawing the face was of paramount importance, the body being mainly indicative of the status of the person portrayed and that nothing further being required for such a likeness the ground was either left blank or filled decoratively with colour.

The indispensable multitude of figures, human, architectonic, floral, etc., in paintings of any other subject, makes futile this objection.

The opaque colour of the ground holds light and does not send it forth. It stands still and immutable. Against the formless substantiality of colour the figure is limned. It is isolated within its limits. The figure stands, drawn and located by the destiny towards which it is turned. This lies outside the picture on one side and leads the figure along.

The monochrome and opaque ground is the curtain on which the limit of individual existence is drawn. It is the densely compressed clarity which extends from the boundless but when beheld by the eye

it confronts it, a surface of colour and its distance is not known. In this unshapen fulness, of which the emblem is an unaffected blank, the concrete and well defined living entity stands, while it is pulled along irresistibly into that direction and towards that end which its wide open eyes, whatever their cast and expression, so well behold. On the inscrutably anonymous ground each of these portraits has its individual features limned. Their metaphysical direction is not that of forthcoming from depth to surface, from the formless into form. It lies in the surface itself of display.

The faces are modelled in accordance with classically Indian tradition and aware also of contemporary painting in Europe; yet they are invariably confined in continuous lines of slow and steady curves. At times under the influence of European painting a darker shade is laid along the profile or around the figure. Although the body in three quarter profile thus may seem to be intended to occupy the third dimension, this effect is simultaneously frustrated by the consistency of the outline. It stretches the figure into that plane which the profile of the face so decidedly marks. It is the plane in which it is drawn along in its walk of life and according to its destiny.

This being drawn along the unceasing direction towards its destination which lies outside the frame, is the only movement within the picture. But for it all stand still, the figure, the ground and their proximity.

Into the profile of the face has entered the invisible hook by which it is being pulled. It does not distort its shape; on the contrary it compels it into precision. Stark naked these faces are and their only protection is the conclusiveness of their outline. Once for ever each one of them is limned on a ground that holds at its height no other visible shape. It occurs from picture to picture, a universal ground.

The profile is generally chosen as the representative form in

which a person is cast and by which it is meant to outlast itself. Its outline is that of fate. It is held together in this particular way and little will be changed by age. It makes it easy to recognize the identity of the many persons portrayed which do not have their names inserted. The body acts as a carriage in which the person has taken its stand. The garment is transparent of the way a person is built.

The profile is the key to the painting. Its fate line in the vertical fixes the historical moment when the picture was painted. Profile that it is, it is but little affected by any passing mood ; it is built up by the past and is the handle by which the person is drawn towards his destination. This lies beyond the dimension of the picture in the surface.

The eye, whatever its cast and treatment and whatever mind it reveals, is always vigilant, attracted towards the destination towards which the figure is drawn, while yet it dwells upon the integrity of its limited and confined life. The eye is the guardian of the same entity which is bounded by the profile. While it watches over it, it entrusts it to the far away goal which keeps it steady.

In the figure co-ordinates intersect, the upright one which holds the body erect and keeps the profile in shape, and the horizontal along which each of these figures appears drawn in only one direction. The figure in the main is upheld within two directions and this results in that it appears flat. Its thin surface is laid on the uniform and opaque colour of the ground. It matters little where the figure is placed, whether in the middle or more to the right or left. The ground saturated with the substantiality of its colour stands for the unbounded, visualized by condensation into colour. Part of this saturated infinity, the figure portrayed stands in the co-ordinates of its rectitude.

In this respect there is no essential difference in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between Mughal and Deccan portraits. The

Deccan paintings however are more rigidly monumental in repeating the relation discoursed upon. Saint (Pl. XX) or king, the world into which they are set, transforms them alike.

It has been said that Sufism is at once the religious philosophy and the popular religion of Islam[70]. Paintings of the type of Pl. XX may be considered its Indian visualized versions. The figure is limned on 'alwan'. This Arabic word primarily means colour, and denotes essence and being[71]. For Allah is the light of the world and He veils himself so as to be perceived. The eye cannot perceive the pure light ; veils of colour are the quintessence in which it is hidden and spread out. This spiritual matter, 'hajjula', is unbounded. It is the 'surface of God' and on it appear outlines, 'rusum', and these are the world. Should these lines become indistinct (mahw) the objects would sink back into being. Rusum, the outline, presupposes the ground that carries it. The boundless ground, coloured, i.e. of the nature of light is the base on which the objects are limned into existence. Haqaiq and Haqiqa, object and being, lie in the same plane. On this plane the figures are shown to stand firm (istiqama) and to go the path (tariqa). A power not their own draws them towards their goal. This divine attraction (kashish) demands an inward striving (kushish). The 'rectitude' of the figures is set up by their inward striving ; their direction too is shown by the profile of their faces. Wherever they are placed on the expanse of the coloured surface, they occupy their position according to their measure (maqdur). Their body is but the carrier and this is shown thinly vested, itself part of the surface.

The undifferentiated colour surface unbounded in its nature is the visualized plane, the surface of God on which are limned the single forms. They are sharply delineated (rusum), so that they may not sink back into being and be no longer discernible.

The largeness of conception of these Deccani portraits of the

first quarter of the seventeenth century and the subsequent decade is preserved in paintings of rulers of Golconda and others connected with Ahmadnagar and persists in later portraits (Pl. XX).

B. BIJAPUR

FIRST QUARTER, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In other paintings of the same phase the stage is more varied. It displays a Safawi and Mughal setting in an illuminated manuscript in the Hyderabad Museum of the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah II[72]. The figure of Ibrahim Adil Shah and attendants, similar in costume to the portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah on gold ground, are painted level with the eye, on a slanting ground, as in Safawi miniatures and established as a type in Sassanian art[73]. Here however with an admixture of Mughal and Western notions it makes the foreground ; the dense vegetation suggestive of a middle ground appears as a warmly toned drop curtain, whereas the 'dur numa', the distant view fills the upper corner on the right with atmospheric smudges of a blue, white clouded sky. With all the new tonality the attempt of achieving depth does not go far. Nearer to Safawi feeling than are Mughal paintings of this phase[74], the figures here appear as coloured masses ; they are gathered however in surfaces larger than in Persian painting. The abrupt and heavy edge of the middle ground is of the same kind as that of the 'foreground' in the picture of the Yogini painted more than a quarter of a century earlier. In either of these paintings from Bijapur with 'landscape' setting, the vertical surface of the ground predominates. In the 'picture of an elephant' it acts as a toned curtain sprinkled with flowers. Where a Mughal painting would have shown a zigzag arrangement of the figures conducting into depth, the surface here holds its own and makes ineffective any attempt at spatial distance. The stalwart attendant waving a piece of cloth in the illustration of the

XIV

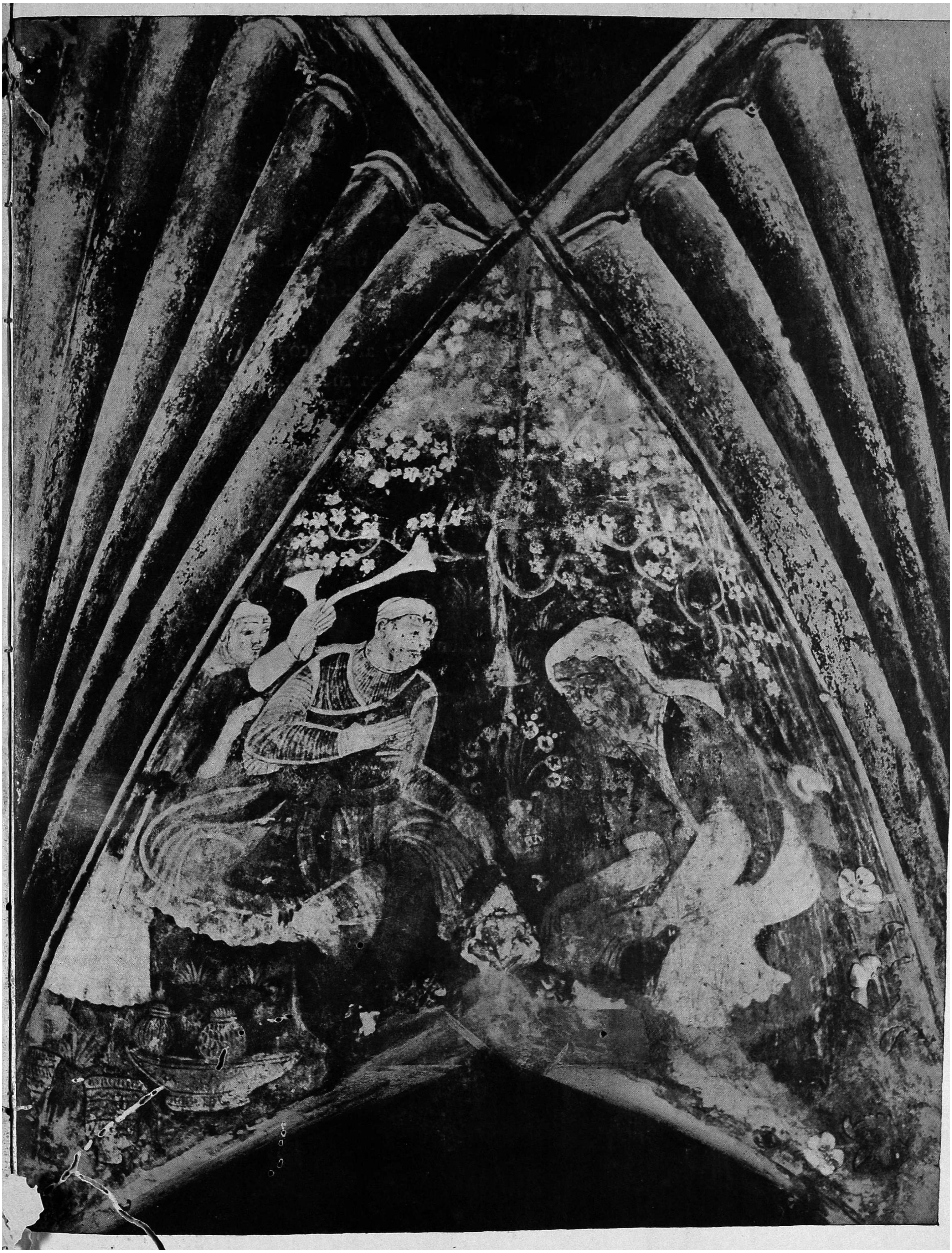
WALL PAINTING above entrance in the WATER PAVILION AT KUMATGI, BIJAPUR

The surface consists of two spherical triangles. They meet in the centre with a sharp edge which is visible from the apex downwards.

The colours as they appear to-day are: ground: dark olive green with whitish flowers on a grey tree, earthen-ware yellow with brown and black pattern; the large flowers on the right have emerald green spots. The main figure (cf. Ibrahim Adil Shah II) is shown with a brown undergarment, white transparent upper robe, lamp-black sash with yellow ends, yellow dagger, white turban[75]. Rings on thumb, etc.

The standing attendant waving a white cloth is dressed in olive green (discoloured); the face is shaded with red.

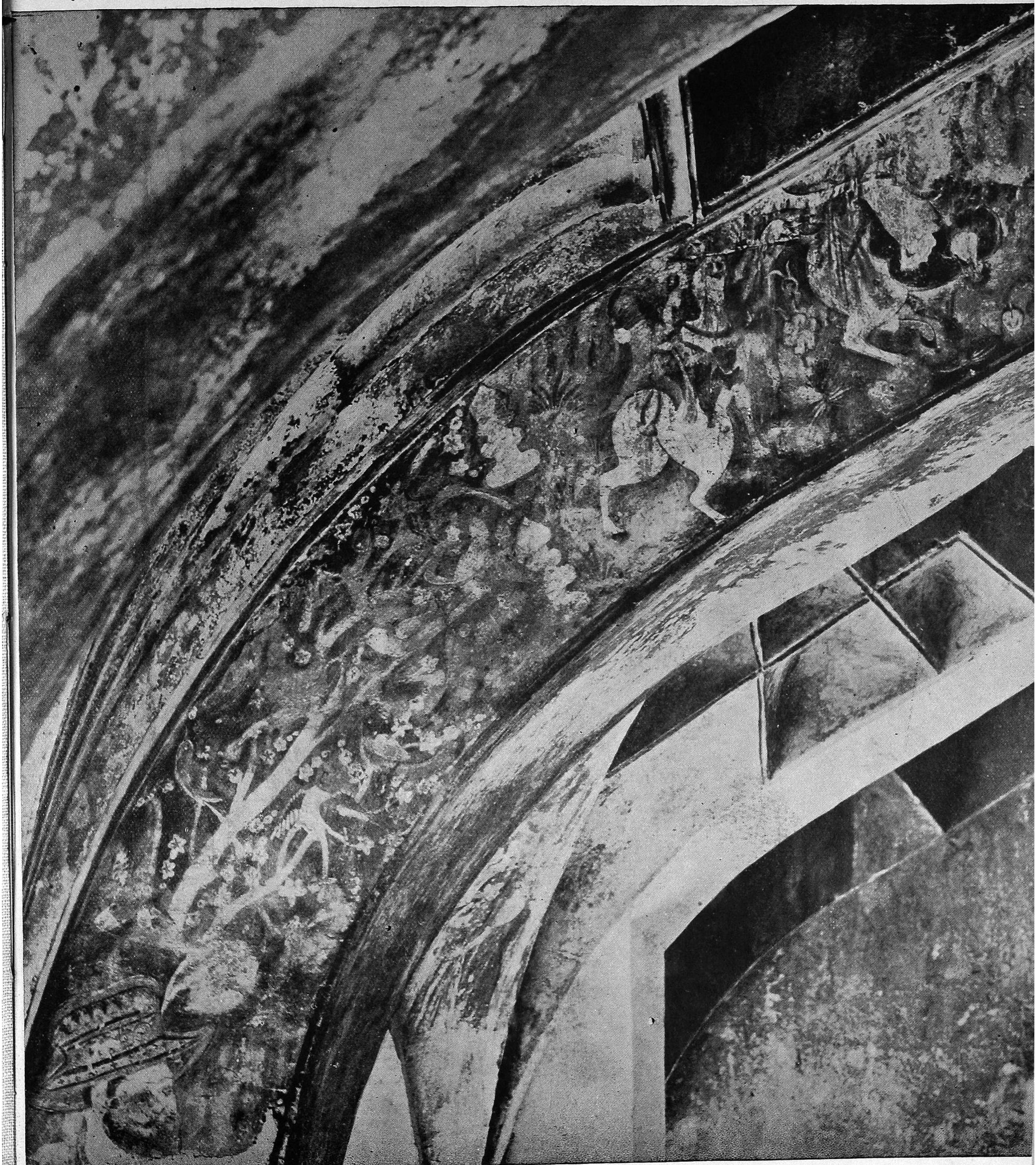
The Shaikh's coat is brownish black with a yellow and red pattern, light ochre sash, undergarment white, beard red; all the outlines are black.



XV

WALL PAINTING on an arch in the **WATER PAVILION AT KUMATGI**

Head of a Western ambassador with 'beef-eater hat', flowering tree and birds, polo players.



Hyderabad Museum manuscript conforms in his movement with that of figures in similar action, in the Uchayappa Matha, Anegundi and in the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi paintings (Pl. XII). This movement fixes the entire composition in the surface. The Persian blues and vermilions appear toned in a minor key, set as they are against a green-golden dam of vegetation and the white of the costumes[76].

Composed of similar elements as the Hyderabad Museum manuscript painting are the wall paintings at Kumatgi (Pls. XIV, XV)[77]. Originally the entire wall space of the interior of this water pavilion was covered with paintings. Enough however remains to show their weighty sumptuousness[78]. Placed side by side are Safawi flowering trees, their branches however are curved in three dimensions ; large human figures displaying the fashions of the day, Deccani and Western, all of them mainly in three quarter profile view and some with a considerable amount of modelling are set on a flowered ground. The heterogeneous components are mixed in many ways. Slender Persian branches are foreshortened so as to suggest the third dimension (Pl. XIV). In another painting (Pl. XV) thick in volume, they are laid out into the surface, in-between the figure of a Western ambassador[79] painted with considerable knowledge of Western painting and a scene of polo-playing, where attempts at foreshortening a horse seen from the back are daring even if they are not convincing.

In this phase of receptiveness there yet remains a setting of the many elements consistent in the way it places them, even where it does not succeed in assimilating them. With several attempts towards an illusion of the third dimension, the painting remains in the surface and where it is free from large figures the vertical ground is beset with clusters of grass or flowers. Although the many devices are either modelled or else occupy space by their movement or posture, foreshortening and oversecting, they are yet held in the surface. They

make it weighty and do not break it. Staid and cumbersome, neither charged nor scintillating it carries its burden. Viewed against paintings of the third quarter of the preceding century as for instance Pl. XIII, with a similar setting, the main contribution of Bijapur painting of the early seventeenth century is a larger share of the third dimension weightily displayed as part of the single motives layed out on the surface. An organisation however of the painting in terms of depth as in contemporary Mughal painting is not attempted. With this somewhat laboured fitting of antinomian elements the line has a slow curvature, ample with slackened rigour. The transparency of some of the garments intercepts the deep splendour of the colour. With it all a sombre grandeur is displayed in the paintings of the water pavilion at Kumatgi, staid in power where it is not inert[80].

SECOND QUARTER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Westernisation via Goa acted more perceptibly than its indirect influence incorporated in Mughal painting during the preceding phase. The Italian frescoes of the Ashar Mahall, Bijapur[81], and the 'Madonna' already mentioned belong to a group of work which, if translated by Indian craftsmen, as by Mirza Muhammad al-Hasani into their own technique, is of interest historically. One of its lasting effects is the change in the colour of Deccani painting. Hitherto and on the whole with the exception of the ground of the 'picture of an elephant' the Persian mode of contrasting colours had been valid. In the Nujum-al-ulum illustrations from fol. 240 onwards its blues, vermilions and other major colours are next to mixed and earthy colours in a minor key such as smoke grey (fol. 241, 244) violet (fol. 262) and Indian red (fol. 277), the latter being very frequently employed. Still, clearly outlined with red or black and interspersed with much gold, the colour

composition though in a lower key, is yet not tonal. All the possibilities of the Persian and Indian palette appear in later works. Even where the single colour surfaces, following Western examples, already from the Yogini painting of 1575 onwards, are modelled in darker and lighter tones of the same colour and rarely in different colours as in classical Indian painting, the shaded colour is confined by an unbroken outline which wants to be followed in the surface. The several shaded colours yet retain their separateness and are coordinated by contrast, they are not merged in one tonality. Where however the Dur-numa claims a large part of the painting as in that of 'the elephant', it acts as a flat and toned ground on which the modelled figure appears an intensive colour surface.

SECOND HALF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

GOLCONDA AND BIJAPUR

From the middle of the seventeenth century onward Golconda became the central school of painting in the Deccan and Bijapur contributed paintings in the two main trends outlined hitherto, of the Nujum-al-Ulum or of the Yogini type and others in a delicate eclecticism of its own. The illustrated manuscript of the Mathnawi of Nusrati belongs to the reign of Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1657-1672 A.D.). It forms part of the most important collection of Deccani painting from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, the property of Sir Akbar Hydari. A large part of the paintings in this collection comes from Golconda which rose to be the most luxurious and fashionable city in India under Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672 A. D.).

Before however finally turning to Golconda, the illuminations of the Mathnawi of Nusrati from Bijapur claim attention. They reveal an altogether slackened pace in the procession of Ali Adil Shah[82]. With an adherence to the profile view of perfect visibility and to the alignment

of figures no concentrated power of movement is gained. The figures appear now without will or destiny as squat flecks of tepid colour on a dark grey ground, of which the gloom is lifted only at the top where the sky is shown a tired blue. With their clinging to the surface the small flecks of human figures attest their adherence to Deccani painting of which by contrast the Raksasa Tagidi scenes of the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi manuscript appear as the 'primitives'. There are two delicate landscapes[83] amongst the remaining paintings of Nusrati's manuscript. The wild date palm and other trees of Indian and Persian lineage almost completely fill the painted pages with a mild tonality carried by a dense growth of vegetation laid out as a tapestry like surface, limp with a pattern decadently refined. No 'distant view' enters it and the sky extends on top of the painting, a band of toned colour or part of its surface. On it the superimposed figures of trees spread their branches.

Approximately of the same phase as the painting of Ali Adil Shah's procession in the Bijapur manuscript, is the large painting on cotton cloth of Abdullah Qutb Shah's procession (Pls. XVI-XIX)[84], in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari. With paintings on cloth Mughal art had started in India. The 'princes of the houses of Timur,' painted in 1555[85] and the Hamza-Namah illustrations[86] are of a large size and painted on cotton cloth. This was an ancient practice in India[87].

The large painting on cloth, showing Abdullah Qutb Shah in procession (Pls. XVI-XVII) is not only outstanding in size (11'10"×2'11")[88]. This painting belongs to the later part of Abdullah's reign, and is contemporary with the illustrations of Nusrati's Mathnawi from Bijapur. Procession pictures were specially in vogue it seems, at this phase.

There are two more paintings of Abdullah Qutb Shah with his retinue in procession. Both show him as a younger man than in the

XVI-XVII

PROCESSION OF ABDULLAH QUTB SHAH

Collection of Sir Akbar Hydari

XVIII

PORTRAIT OF MIR JUMLAH

Detail of Pls. XVI-XVII

XIX

PORTRAIT OF NIKNAM KHAN

Detail of Pls. XVI-XVII

large procession painting (Pls. XVI-XVII), especially the one in Vienna[89]. In this middle seventeenth century painting, Westernisms abound while the figures are still shown in irregular and superimposed rows (cf. illustrations of the Tarif-i-Hussain Shahi). The painting however, in Leningrad[90] is superior in execution and may precede the large painting on cloth by not more than a decade. Rich with Mughal idioms it shows the Sultan riding on an elephant accompanied by his retinue, preceded by dignitaries and followed by musicians. The main group and the musicians are gathered each into a massive of superimposed figures while the dignitaries in front are placed singly and like figures on a chessboard, on the enclosed space between two gates and seen 'in bird's eye view'. A wall of wild date palms and leafy trees painted with Western impressionism fences this scene against a background of high storeyed houses and a pavilion, rising against a cloud streaked sky with Western and Indian resources of cubical setting. The main group with the Sultan riding on an elephant astride, and accompanied by attendants on elephant, and by a crowd of mostly young men on foot, must have been before the painter of the large canvas. In the Leningrad painting the elephants are modelled in the round and one comes forward right in front of the Sultan's animal. This motif is adapted to the surface, in the later version. The palatial procession however with young men singing and playing on musical instruments is partly adapted and enlarged upon in the martial display of Sir Akbar Hydari's painting. The chorus of singing boys at the right edge of the Leningrad painting is in part replaced by Hindu ascetics close to the figures of Madanna and Akanna (Pls. XVI-XVII on utmost right). Incidentally attention may be drawn to the first figure in the topmost row amongst the dignitaries preceding Abdullah Qutb Shah in the Leningrad painting. His likeness shows him to be the vizier Khairat Khan whose name is written on his portrait in the library of the

Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin[91].

These two procession paintings of Abdullah Qutb Shah of the mid-seventeenth century belong to a phase of transition before painting in Golconda consolidated into its monumental style in the latter part of Abdullah Qutb Shah's rule and under Tana Shah. The long band of the composition (Pls. XVI-XVII) goes back to a type of painting as it is shown on the walls of Ajanta, cave X, etc. without however the direction of forthcoming; it is reminiscent of reliefs on the gates of Sanci, such as the Visvantara Jataka on the north gate, outside, and the visit of Asoka to the Bodhi tree at Bodh-gaya, on the east gate[92]. Not only the shape of the narrow band is common to these works. The superposition of the figures as well as their density are of a related type. The Qutb Shahi painting however is conditioned to an equal extent by the valour of the surface, to which painting in the Deccan adheres definitely from its Turko-Persian phase onward[93]. The upper part shows it of subdued blue colour, a complete assimilation to the surface of the sky as it had opened upon the Adil Shahi procession in Nusrati's manuscript. The repertory of form with its vestiges of Western modelling especially in the faces, as well as the three quarter view, or even the coming forward of figures such as the elephants immediately in front of and below the royal elephant, are all subjected to strict terms of surface. This shows most where it is left bare so that the profiles of some of the leading figures are sharply outlined on it (Pls. XVIII, XIX)[94]. The crowd is anonymous and the features of the many heads are based, as they always are in Indian representations, on ethnical types. Viewing the painting as a whole the portraits do not attract more attention than their place assigns to them[95]. Borne on the crest of the wave as the figure of the king, part of it as the figures of Niknam Khan, Madanna and Akanna or between two crests as for instance the figure of Mir Jumlah, in the whole

XX

PORTRAIT OF A SAINT

Colours: Ground middle green, white robe, deep red conical cap, blue and white cloudy sky.

($3\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$)"

Collection of Sir Akbar Hydari.

painting none has prominence. Events are not shown as centering around any of them. This is different in Mughal painting where the emperor or whoever be the person of importance of the moment makes the whole picture centred and its composition referable to his figure. In this majestic array however there is no other reference but that of the procession of the figured mass to the plain ground. To this the portraits of some of the leading figures add their powerful presence. Mir Jumlah's profile (Pl. XVIII) is hard with a pensive power and the modelling of Niknam Khan's likeness (Pl. XIX) does not detract from the determination and nobility of his traits. Much in either case is added to the valour of the profile by the largeness of the eye, an ancient Indian way of showing the fluid and vulnerable aspect of human existence. Mughal portraiture is more cautious and reveals less of this. Circumspect, its leading figures are shown more as they appear at court than in eternity. This quality distinguishes the portrait of Mir Jumlah in Abdullah Qutb Shah's procession from the one painted by Govardhan, one of the most accomplished painters of Shah Jahan's school. The latter is probably a faithful record of Mir Jumlah's individual appearance. The feel of the aged skin and of the fluffy beard are absent from the sta[illegible] decisiveness of lines by which the face in the Golconda painting shows that it carries fate upright.

A painting of a saint, with a rosary and staff, 'going the way', (Pl. XX) in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari continues the tradition exemplified by the portraits of Mir Hashim. The white surface of his long robe is transparent with a pattern not so much of folds than of an ordered state of existence. No psychological descriptiveness breaks the purity of the profile and its continuous outline. Such indication as there is of a ground on which to stand and of trailing clouds, limns only the state of calmness in which the figure dwells while it goes its way. There is a drawing of Aurangzib, pos-

sibly by Mir Hashim with a face similarly outlined.

A casket made of papier mache (Pl. XXI)[96] is graced with some of the subtlest painting of the later part of the seventeenth century. From their Persian origins, paintings on papier mache or lacquer were the work of leading artists and signed paintings of this kind are known by Ali Riza Abbasi[97]. The mellow, ivory golden hue of the varnish is used by the Golconda master craftsman in lieu of the golden ground. Across its transparency shine few and quiet tints of colour. Divested of the sumptuousness in some earlier Bijapur paintings, the trees are elegant with a delicacy equal to that of the young figures. Transparent veils hold in intangible bell shapes the ample curves of southern tradition, suave by Mughalesque usage and staid with a Deccani wisdom of spacing. It is akin in largeness to that of Persian painting of the seventeenth century. Western nostalgies of a budding Rococo are also presaged here. A drawing touched with gold in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari belongs to this supple blend. It is not typical of this phase which as a rule further adheres to the rigour of outline and surface[98].

The width and monumental quality in spacing the picture is peculiar to Deccani painting as exemplified by the illustrations of the Ruhanis. When the fierce vitality of the line has subsided there yet is left to it a sweep and concentration which makes any Deccani painting distinct from Mughal work with its softer curves. The heroic and collected aspect of the paintings corresponds to the monumental weight and spaciousness of architecture in the Deccan.

In the following years and under the rule of Abul Hasan Tana Shah (1672-1687)[99] the school of Golconda maintains a stark discipline of large conceptions. A portrait on a small scale of Abul Hasan Tana Shah, in the collection of Nawab Salar Jung, another group portrait in this collection, of which one more copy with very slight modifica-

XXI

PAINTING ON THE TWO MAIN SIDES OF A PAPIER MACHE CASKET

In various subdued tones of green, brown, red and silver foil, under a transparent golden yellow varnish, a young prince is enthroned, with courtesans ; the one he embraces holds a flower, another behind them a fly-whisk and cup, while he takes some object from the one facing him.

The other side shows kneeling two musicians and a dancer.

Measures of casket : length 5 3/8" ; width 3 5/8" ; height 3 3/8"

Victoria and Albert Museum,
South Kensington

'tion is in the Sir Ratan Tata collection, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay[100] are stern with strong colours monumentally spaced.

Towards the end of Abul Hasan's rule a large number of paintings were manufactured of indifferent quality even if of careful execution. They are of value to a knowledge of the history of Golconda and not to its art. Stereotyped in form and subject, they repeat portraits of kings, noblemen and saints and scenes on terraces of the zenana. The illustrations of Manucci's Storia do Mogor have a wider range. In this respect and also with regard to their formal qualities their distance is not considerable from seven paintings in the Calcutta Art Gallery inscribed with the name of Shapur of Khurasan as their painter[101]. Costumes and types are similar to the work in the Codex Manucci. The pale and cold colouring belongs to the same age. Following Deccani tradition they are painted on golden ground.

HYDERABAD

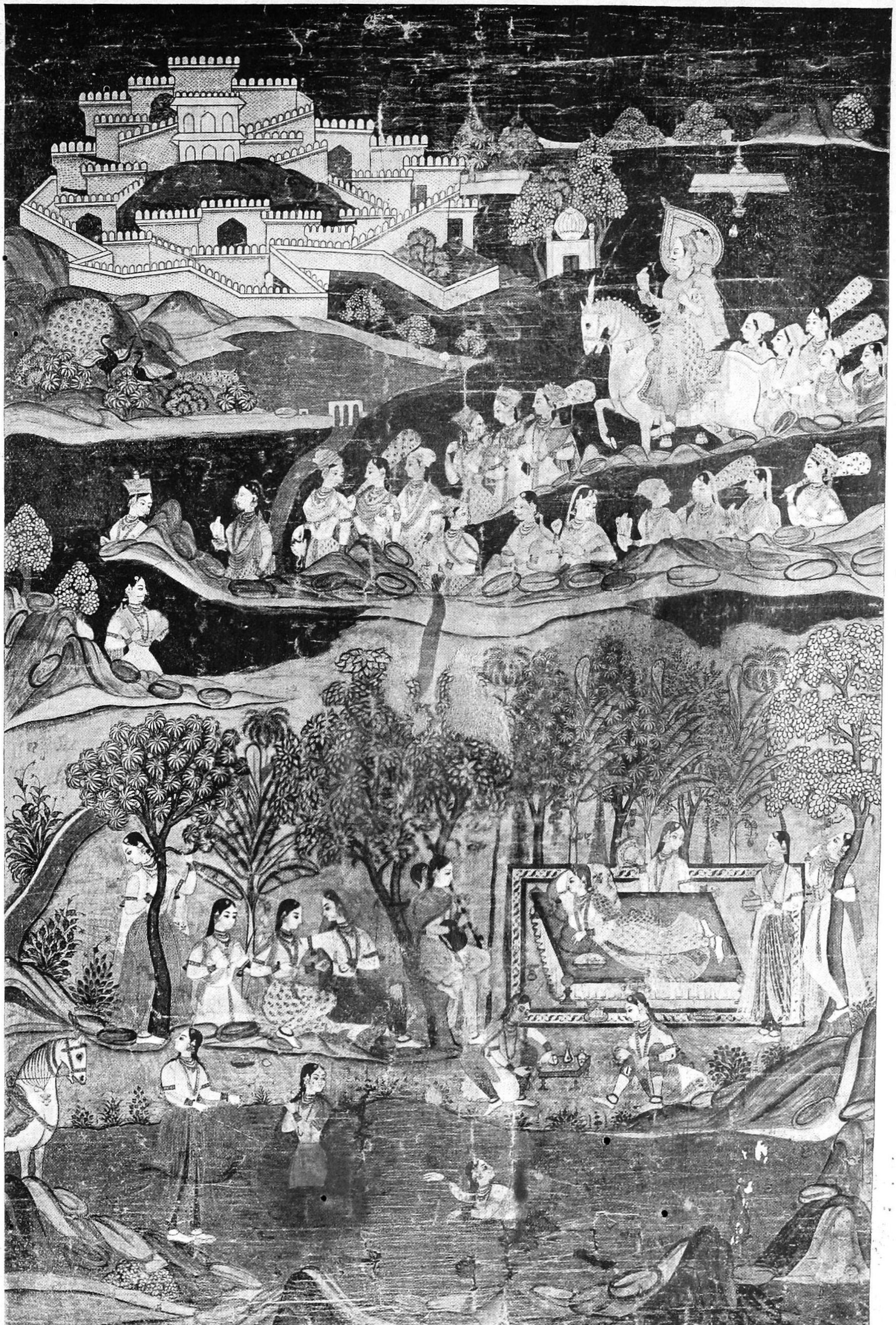
After the downfall of the Qutb Shahi dynasty the tradition of Golconda painting as it had shaped itself in the latter part of Abdullah Qutb Shah's and the earlier part of Abul Hasan's rule persisted and the portrait of Bahadur Shah of the early eighteenth century in the Boston Museum but for a relative slightness of the facial contour conforms with one of Abul Hasan's portraits in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari[102].

Another painting in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari is on cloth and of a large size (Pls. XXII, XXIII)[103]. With a sure and staid discipline it presents its subject and motifs, whatever their source, with a knowledge as to their effect. The emptiness of form from any other contents except that of the stately balance of carrying them invests line and spacing of the surface with finality. The colour however does not come up to this clearness. It is frequently chalky and at times sumptuously cold. The modelling is reticent at times to withdraw and leaves shadows without precision on single shapes of the rocks especially. Gone beyond any impact from within the surface and also void of the energies of movement in the surface, the pictorial figures are laid out in a selective balance. With it conform the experienced attitudes of the limbs of 'Vrksakas', the ramifications of their trees, etc. They occur in similar versions on large paintings on cloth, in Jaipur[104]. Rajput painting and Deccan work have their major foundations in common. They are furthermore strengthened by repeated contacts[105]. The woman and tree motif of the Jaipur paintings is closely related to those of Pl. XXI. The fort there is reminiscent of that of

XXII

AZAM SHAH RETURNS FROM BIRD SHOOTING AND APPROACHES HIS PLEASURE GARDEN AT THE FOOT OF GOLCONDA FORT

Collection of Sir Akbar Hydari



XXIII

DETAIL OF PL. XXII

XXIV

THE FRIENDS

The one girl holds a glass to the lips of the other. Colours : Ground light green, white dress, bluish green veils, yellow-gold pyjamas ; white, mauve, lavender blue, deep green and reddish brown in flowers, slippers, garlands, etc.

Inscription : Karmatum the painter.

Fol. 47. Or. 2787 ; Album of Himmatyar Khan.

$(6\frac{1}{2} \times 7)''$

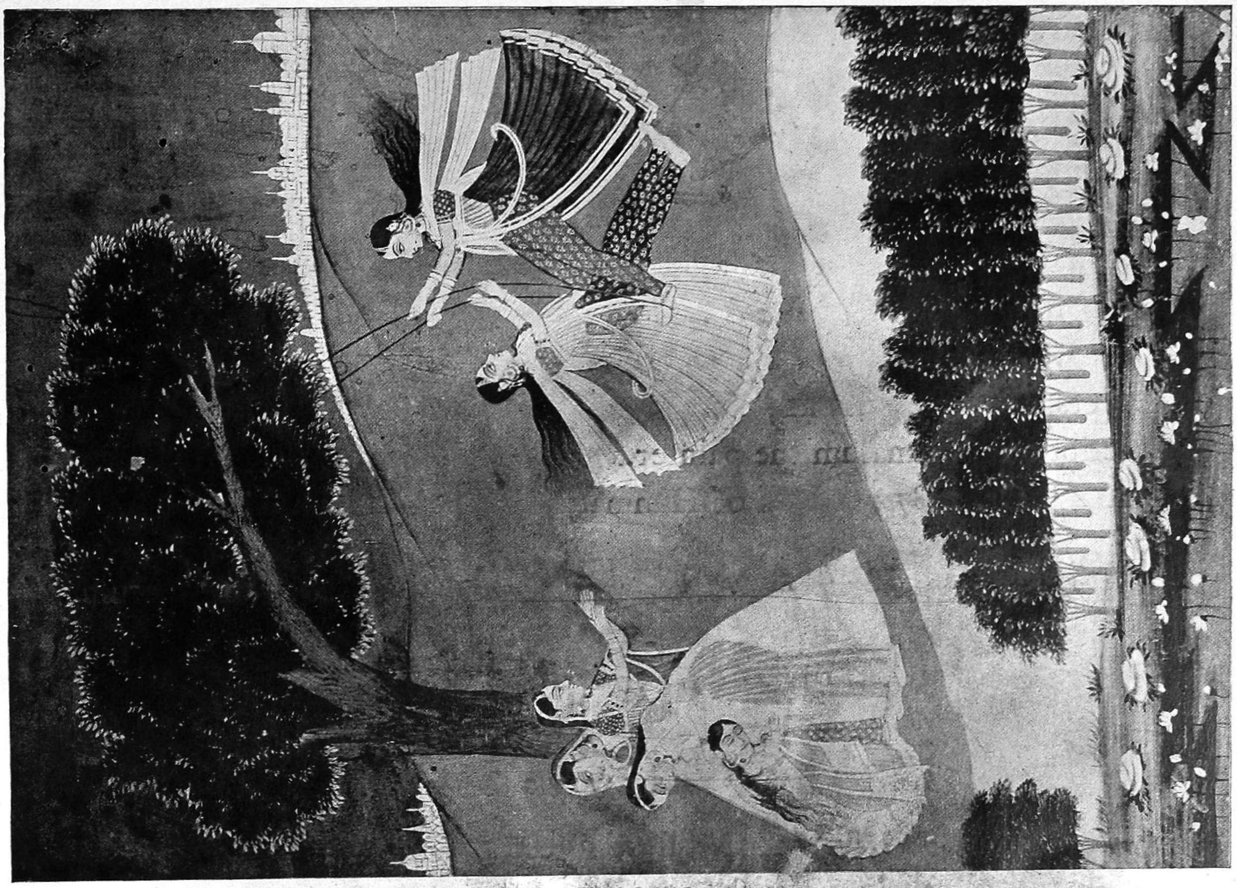
British Museum.

THE SWING

Colours : Grey-blue sky, light green, middle zone, white town and white hill below, bluish green trees ; purple, Indian red, white, dresses, edged with gold : golden scarves.

$(7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2})''$

Collection of Sir Akbar Hydari



(Pl. XXI). The spacing of the main figures with large plants on either side moreover connects these paintings on cotton cloth with later miniatures from Hyderabad. From Shah Jahan's time the effect of Deccani painting on that of the Mughal school had been considerable. Now once more Mughal painting after 1700 A.D. acts on that of Hyderabad. To this phase belong a number of paintings in various collections[106], and not only from Hyderabad but also from lesser centres, such as Shorapur, Kurnool, Poona and Ahmadabad[107]. The local variations are slight, the Deccani factor dominates in the commingling of Mughal and Rajput elements in the West, of Deccan and South Indian traits in the other centres.

The subsequent decades of the eighteenth century are marked by torpid Mughalisms[108]. The Tuti-namah by Ghauwasi dated A.D. 1736-37 in the British Museum[109] shows th[illegible]educed to the heavy and cold palette which Deccani artisans [illegible] to favour in the third quarter of the preceding century as [illegible] the illustrations from Bijapur of Nusrati's Mathnawi. The [illegible] however of the century represented by a collection of painti[illegible] Himmatyar Khan[110], an Amir of the Nizam's court [illegible] rallies its means, delicate and rigorous at a time, of [illegible]ter Qutb Shahi conventions (Pl. XXIV, 1)[111]. At this phase too, the cadence o[illegible] outline is given a new turn. Hitherto [illegible]s slightly concav[illegible] sharpness had been stretched. Now it curls up with a flourish of swaying skirts, garlands and other corresponding devices ([illegible] XIV, 2)[112]. Thus enlivened it gathers in its arabesques a discipline by which many paintings from Hyderabad are strong to the middle of the nineteenth century. The South Indian element has its share of ample curves in some of the contemporary paintings. The latter is still valid in a portrait of 'Raja Venkata Apanayak of Shorapur', in the collection of Nawab Salar Jung and in some of the paintings in Sir Akbar Hydari's collection in Hyderabad[113].

An illustrated manuscript of the early nineteenth century in the India Office Library[114], flings its pages open to currents of painting up to date in the manner of contemporary products of Kashmiri book illustrations.

With all the many accesses and their commingling, painting in the Deccan is spontaneously productive by the middle of the nineteenth century. An illustration on p. 185 from a manuscript in the British Museum, Akhlak-i-Nasiri, dated 1842[115] shows Lal transmuted into a deer. He listens to two birds conversing. With its greater speed and fluency of outline, this illustration seems to descend directly from paintings of the Baghdad school. The 'animals in council' of an Arabic Kalila wa Dimna manuscript, dated 1354[116] have their gathering in the vicinity of shrubs of similarly large leaves. It would not be surprising if along with the Indian fables, which had wandered in the sixth century to Persia and from there to Arabia in the eighth century and back again to Persia, the tradition of painting them would have taken a similar course[117]. Spontaneous and fiercely fresh these illustrations are representatives of that trend in Deccani painting which has slid its level of intensity across painting in Elura. In the sixteenth century it is present to our knowledge with another repertory of form of the type of the Ruhani illustrations[118].

The hold which Mughal conventions ceased to exert after the beginning of the nineteenth century released trends which had been at work, in the preceding centuries, so as to absorb once again elements already familiar. Westernisms incorporated during preceding centuries are reinforced by contemporary consignments after the middle of the nineteenth century. Loaded with them, vestiges of past conventions

conform once more with a vision consistent in the employment of heterogeneous factors[119]. Some of the work of the nineteenth century is symptomatic of the possibilities of painting in the Deccan, charged as it is with the living power of its past.

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS FROM GOLCONDA AND HYDERABAD

in the collection of SIR AKBAR HYDARI on loan in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

1. PROCESSION OF 'ABDU'LLĀH QUTB SHĀH (Pls. XVI–XIX)

On a tempered dark blue ground the procession moves from right to left, in an undulating outline, carried by four main groups, boldly massed together and separated by incisions. The first group consists of vertical rows of elephant riders, dressed in mauve pink, light red, pea-green and dark brown on blue elephants and of horsemen, dressed in green, mauve pink and dark brown on white, reddish brown, two mauve and one reddish horse. The men on foot carry staffs and are dressed in white. This group is led by "Shāh Mirzā" (topmost) (written in Persian) in dark brown jāma' with pink and red flowers, on a reddish horse; below him rides "Tānā Shāh" (written in Persian) completely dressed in gold with red flower pattern, on a white horse; the lower portion of the horse is of light red colour, in Hindu style; both these generals shoulder their swords with the right, the left hand holds the reins. Below and just emerging from the row of the footman "Nīknām" Khān the general, with red flowered, white jāma', a dark brown scarf with red lines, a black shield with gold on the left, the right holding a lance; he rides a reddish brown horse. Below him a group of white-clad men on foot, carrying staffs. Immediately behind them ride Mādannā and his brother Ākannā, surrounded by a crowd of Hindus, clad only with dhotī and scarf across hips.

The next group bears 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh (inscr.)—clad in gold, with pink and blue flower pattern—on its crest, enthroned in a golden howda on a yellow coloured, richly decked out elephant. A golden halo surrounds his head and a golden umbrella is held above the king.

Below him: 4 smaller elephants with attendants seated on them, guards on foot, and musicians clad according to the colour scheme indicated. At the bottom a row of armed men, carrying blue shields, with brown or gold.

Between this group and the next a group of white clad figures intervenes, turned towards the king, hailing him and swinging censers. White umbrella and flag bearers are at the rear of the next group, in which two horsemen are treated as individual portraits. In front of them proceed flag bearers and footfolk, riders on two elephants, in front of these again a row of attendants waving cloth and camara, at the back of a row of horsemen, lavishly attired.

Topmost in the following incision "Mīr Jumlah" (written in Persian) in blue jāma', makes a majestic equestrian portrait. In front of him the last (i.e. first) group of horsemen and infantry with various weapons and costumes in all the colours previously indicated.

Peculiar to most of them is the very broad belt. Out of this mass issues a mighty elephant, above the man riding him a fabulous, whale-like fish device, shield and flag carriers, etc.

A scantily clad figure hurries in front of the procession, another is only faintly visible.

Painted on coarse cotton cloth with thick white priming.

Retouched blue in and outside halo of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, cracks and painting partly crumbled away near edges on left. Otherwise excellent preservation.

11′ 10″×2′ 11″. Golconda, Third quarter, seventeenth century.

Re: Portrait of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, cf. F. R. Martin, Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turquey, Pl. 208; Strzygowski, Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei, (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Min. 64, fol. 18) Pl. 16, Fig. 45; 14, Fig. 38; Stchoukine, Miniatures Indiennes, p. 54; Album Manucci, fol. 37 (Bib. Nat. Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 45 res.); Manucci, Storia do Mogor (Irvine), Vol. III, Pl. XXXII; Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, pl. facing p. 173; Br. Museum, Add. 5254, cf. Rieu, Catalogue, p. 780, fols. 6, 25*a* and *b*; Br. Museum, Add. 22282, fol. 15; Add. 23609, fol. 3.

Re: Portraits of Shāh Mirzā, cf. Stchoukine, *l.c.*, p. 60; Br. Mus. Or. Add. 22282, fol. 18; Add. 5254, fol. 26*b*; Or. 7964, fol. 39; Bodleyan Library, Douce, Or. d. I., fol. 13.

Re: Portraits of Tānā Shāh; Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, pl. facing p. 182 and Nrs. 4 to 6 in this collection, cf. Gladstone Solomon, Essays on Mogul Art, Frontispiece and Pl. V; Br. Mus. Add. 22282, fol. 21; Add. 5254, fol. 29*b*; Goetz, La Peinture Indienne, *l.c.*; Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1935, p. 279; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, Pls. 14, Fig. 39; 15, Fig. 41.

Re: Portraits of Nīknām Khān, cf. Stchoukine, *l.c.*, p. 60; Br. Museum Or. Add. 22282, fol. 17; Or. Add. 5254, fol. 28*a*; Or. 7964, fol. 40; Bodleyan Library, Douce, Or. d. I., fol. 16; Goetz: Notes on a collection of historical portraits from Golconda, Indian Art and Letters, Vol. X, Pl. II, Fig. 6; Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, pl. facing p. 177.

Re: Portraits of Mīr Jumlah, cf. Martin, *l.c.*, Vol. II, Pl. 195; Binyon-Arnold: Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, Pl. XX; Stchoukine, *l.c.*, p. 51; Brit. Mus. Or. 5254, fol. 18*b*, 29*b*; Or. 7964, fol. 11, 42; Or. 2787, fol. 65; Irvine, Storia do Mogor, Vol. II, Pl. XXV; Br. Mus. Add. 18801, fol. 31, Rieu, Catalogue, p. 478, dated 1072 A.H.; Br. M. Add. 23609, Rieu, pp. 781-782.

Re: Portraits of Mādannā, cf. Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Epigraphy, 1915, Pl. II*b*; Stchoukine, Miniatures Indiennes, *l.c.*, Pl. 18*b*; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15, Fig. 42; British Museum, Or. Add. 22282, fol. 23; Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 45, res. fol. 41 et Od. 49; Manucci (Irvine), *l.c.*, Pl. XXXVII; Goetz, Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten, Oct. 1934, p. 313; from an album in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; Strzygowski, Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei, Pl. XV, Fig. 42 (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Min. 64, fol. 9).

Re: Portraits of Ākannā, A.S.I., *l.c.*, Pl. II*c*; Stchoukine, *l.c.*, p. 58, No. 86; Goetz, Notes on a collection of historical portraits from Golconda, Indian Art and Letters, Vol. X, Pl. II, Fig. 5.

Of the three generals riding in the first group on the left, the one at the bottom may be identified with Sayyid Muẓaffar, Strzygowski, Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei, Pl. XVII, Fig. 52, where he is shown as a younger man ; Goetz, Maandblad, *l.c.*, p. 312 ; Stchoukine, Miniatures Indiennes, Pl. XIX ; and the general at the top, with Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, cf. Storia do Mogor (Irvine), Vol. III, Pl. XXXVIII ; Br. Mus. Add. 5254, fol. 26*a* ; Br. Mus. Add. 22282, fol. 16.

2. 'ABDU'LLĀH QUṬB SHĀH

The Shāh, dressed in gold kimkhāb, sits enthroned in front of the façade of a palace. Three girls to his left, one with peacock fly-whisk, another with a covered tray leans on a staff, the third has stepped near him with a tray of roses, out of which he takes a flower.

To the right, one girl holds a goblet in her left and waves a shawl with the right, another also holds a goblet and with her right hand she waves the shawl over the left shoulder. These five girls wear transparent dupaṭṭa, a short colī leaving the waist bare, a ghāgrā with horizontal stripes and a golden kamarband, except for the girl with the staff, on the left, whose salmon coloured peśvāj completely covers her body, to which it clings.

To the right are, moreover, a small girl with crown and an old woman with a dupaṭṭa fitting the head closely and cap-like and held in position by golden braids.

In front, a pinkish mauve carpet with large flower design. On it are placed golden goblets.

Tank with gold fish in front, flowers grow to either side.

Colour scheme : light bluish-grey, mauve, salmon, dim-green ; gold and black accents of hair.

Painted on cotton cloth.

Worn.

Re : Portrait of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, cf. Nr. 1, to which this painting is posterior.

3′ 5″ × 2′ 8½″.

3. SHĀKH-I-NABĀT (SHOOT OF A PLANT)

(Written in Persian on top of painting and added later)

Portrait of a virile and stern type. The face, shown in profile, has individual features, a bold nose, sensuous mouth, a firm chin and pensive eyes.* The lady holds a lotus on a long stalk.

A transparent peśvāj (dress) is worn over a long colī and śalvār, dupaṭṭa and the kamarband too are transparent, the edge of the former and of the peśvāj being marked by a golden border, with dots impressed in goldsmith's fashion. The ornaments, mainly consisting of white pearls, are : a chain at the parting of the hair with a ruby pendant (sīr māṅga), a three-fold necklace, with ruby and pearl pendants (dhuk-dhuki), a two stringed pearl chain

* Cf. a corresponding Mughal portrait as that of Gul Ṣafā, Stchoukine, La Peinture Indienne, Pl. XLI*a*, which appears slight with rounded lines and small accents, against the determined and rigorous summing up of the Deccani portrait.

crossed in front and reaching to the hips, with large pearl pendants in the centre. Armlets worked with gold and red, between double row of pearls, 8-fold pearl string wristlets, and double pearl anklets. Pearl and ruby drops in the ear, light pink shaded flower garlands almost cover her chest; she wears gold rings with rubies and pearls; the hair is brushed back; one very stiff cork-screw lock behind the ear, the rest of it, rather short, falls to the shoulders in loose curls. The palms are dyed light red with mehndī and the slippers are golden.

The figure stands on a dark green strip of ground with plants. The paper background is left in its natural colour, and the sky is indicated topmost by a slight blue tint.

Third quarter, seventeenth century.

Siyāhī qalam.
4″×6″.

4. ABU'L ḤASAN QUṬB SHĀH

On a green lawn, with pink and red flowers and set against an ultramarine blue ground, the portly figure of the king is shown standing, body in three-quarter profile, legs and head in profile. He wears a white jāma with golden stripes, red flowers and green leaves, a golden kamarband with mauve and red flowers and green leaves, a golden overcoat (qabā) with red and green flowers and trimmed with brown fur, above the collar. The light yellow lining of the overcoat has an intensely red border. The śalvār are striped rose, gold and blue; a shirt is shown at the neck. A green fauṭah with rose-mauve lining and a pattern in white on it is thrown across the shoulders. The red turban dotted with green is held by a golden shāhs and is decorated with emeralds, pearls and black sarpeś. White slippers. In his right the king holds a white rūmāl (handkerchief), his raised left holds a campaka flower. On the small finger of either hand, a ring with ruby and emerald.

Coarse features, black hair, moustache and beard.

For more or less similar other portraits of Tānā Shāh cf. Manucci, Storia do Mogor (Irvine), Vol. III, Pl. XXXVII; Stchoukine, *l.c.*, Pl. XVIII*a*. Bib. Nat. Cabinet des Estampes, Od. 45; res fol. 37 (Album Manucci) and Od. 54, fol. 12. J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology, 1908, p. 13, and others. See also No. 1.

fol.

Third quarter, seventeenth century.

4″×7″.

5. PORTRAIT OF ABU'L ḤASAN QUṬB SHĀH

Black bearded figure, drawn in profile, shouldering his sword, standing on white terrace with red balustrade in front, white perforated screen at the back. Green lawn with yellow flowers at the bottom, light blue sky getting darker towards the top.

The figure is clad in mauve with very much gold and with red pyjāmas, wears a red green turban on very finely drawn hair, the head being surrounded by a light green halo.

Last quarter, seventeenth century.

4½″×7¾″.

6. PORTRAIT OF PĀDSHĀH ABU'L ḤASAN TĀNĀ SHĀH QUṬB SHĀH

(*Inscribed in Persian characters on top*)

Crude workmanship and subdued colours chiefly white, gold, green, deep mauve and pink.

Late seventeenth century.

Bottom, lower l. edge and middle of l. side repaired.
6″ × 10½″.

7. PORTRAIT OF A NOBLEMAN

A portly figure in profile wears jāma‘ with golden jabot.

Sepia drawing (siyāhī qalam) slightly heightened with white and discretely decorated with gold, the shoes tinted rose colour.

Third quarter, seventeenth century.

5½″ × 8″.

8. A NOBLEMAN OF GOLCONDA

Profile figure of man with moustache, holding a rose in the right hand, the left resting on the hilt of his sword. Dark mauve jāma‘, red papush, fauṭah and turban, white pearl chains, emerald and ruby jewellery.

Third quarter, seventeenth century.

4¾″ × 8¼″.

9. PROFILE PORTRAIT OF MIDDLE-AGED MAN

Background unfinished, white priming. The figure wears long white jāma‘ with golden stripes, rose coloured shoes and kamarband, golden sword and dagger, strap across right shoulder, black shield, golden turban with red and black and with sarpeś. The face has fleshy features, black beard and drooping moustache.

The painting has been glazed. On back: large tapestry-like design of purple coloured fruits.

End, seventeenth century.

5″ × 7″.

10. DANCING GIRL

The girl, with an unconventional and smiling round young face stands with her right leg crossed over the left, body and face bent towards the left, arms raised above head. Yellowish paper, without any priming, forms the ground. Green hills and plants at bottom, blue clouds on top. The dancer wears a transparent 'gairika' coloured peśvāj, golden pyjāmas with red and green flowers, golden sash, red gold slippers with green gold top. A fluttering golden dupaṭṭa accompanies her movement. Flowing black hair, rich jewellery, palms stained pink and painted with red lotuses. The jewellery similar to that of No. 3, except for round gold earrings with pearl, a pearl and emerald disc in the hair, sideways; a necklace of pearl, emerald and ruby-pendants, gold armlets with black pompons, broad golden and smaller round wristlets, also with black pompons. A skein of hair is twisted

round the neck as a sort of necklace and is fastened in the middle by a gold clasp. The border has gold flowers and leaves.

Persian Calligraphy on back: "Az yār kāse khabar nadarad turra-e-shamshād-bood-kakulash."

Transl.: "No one can understand her, her locks resemble the foliage of the box tree."

End, seventeenth century.

4″×6″.

11. 'ĀZAM SHĀH RETURNS FROM BIRD SHOOTING, AND APPROACHES HIS PLEASURE GARDEN AT THE FOOT OF GOLCONDA FORT (Pls. XXII–XXIII)

Hilly scenery with fort on topmost left, trees, tomb, lake and peacocks outside its walls. 'Āzam Shāh (inscribed) lavishly attired, a falcon on his right, on a prancing white horse proceeds downhill, accompanied by a large number of gorgeously dressed ladies, carrying peacock feather whisks, falcons, empty quivers, shot birds, etc. A crowned lady at their head.

Lower down a lady carrying a pillow, emerges behind rocks, her name is inscribed in Persian but "Bānu" only is legible.

The lower half of the painting is a pleasure grove, with a variety of trees. The main figure, inscribed as "Cāndap", reclines on a large couch, standing on a carpet; trays with flowers, etc. near her. She is surrounded by ladies, helping her to pass the time during the absence of her lord, by fanning her, offering pān, pouring out drinks, playing on the viṇā. "Cānd-Bānu" (inscr.) sitting to the right pours out something from a golden vessel. "Mushtāq" (inscr.) to utmost right embraces a tree (woman and tree motif) and raises one finger to her mouth.

Another group of women are seated and standing behind the viṇā player, and one more girl to the utmost left, clasps a branch of a mango tree (Pl. XXII).

Below this scene with its flowers and trees, lies a pond, fed by a canal from the tank at the foot of the fort. One girl, with her head turned towards 'Āzam Shāh's horse—it is hereby suggested that [illegible] arrived in the meanwhile—stands on the rocky bank of the lake; one girl stand[illegible] e had swims in the pond, merry with fish.

The colou[illegible]s, another[illegible] divides the painting into two halves. Above, the earth is purplish brown, wi[illegible] positio[illegible] green meadows, and violet rocks. The fort is white and black against a dark blue-grey sky.

The lower half has a light yellowish green lawn. The stems of the trees are brown and the leaves have dark green outlines. Below: rose-lilac and purple brown rocks, grey-green water.

The two varyingly coloured halves of the painting stem the movement of the composition and make unclear the transition from the dark upper, to the light lower part. Whatever spatial suggestions there are in the one or the other, are overpowered by the colour surface.

In the garments salmon pink and gold make the dominating effect. Transparent white of peśvāj, varied complexions from light golden to deeper brown.

The bed is mauve on top, the fringe light yellow, salmon carpet with mauve border.

The horse white above, salmon-coloured below (cf. Nr. I).

Painted on cotton cloth.
4″×2′ 9¼″.

Hyderābād,
Early eighteenth century.

12. SELLING PĀN

A Hindu woman wearing ghagarā, short coli and sāṛī sits on her heels, in front of a plain building with a veranda, supported by slender pillars. A wicker work stool, covered with a pink cloth, on which are laid out ready-made pān, and betel nut in front of her. Pāndān, lime-pot, etc. on the ground, a large bolster behind her. She holds a nut-cracker in the right hand and is just taking a betel leaf with her left. She wears heavy bangles and simple ornaments. From the right a lady approaches, bending forward and holding a pāndān; she is dressed in Muslim fashion, has a small turban, a slit transparent dress, tucked up in front, over śalvār laid in folds around the legs. The coli is very short, a narrow scarf passes under the arms and above the left shoulder.

Siyāhī qalam.
3″×5½″.

Second quarter, eighteenth century.

13. DISCOURSE OF "HIS HOLINESS HAZARAT PĪRDASTAGĪR"

(According to text in Persian characters)

The saint leaning against a mauve bolster, squats on his heels and discourses with other saints, four of whom are seated in a curvilinear composition starting from Hazarat Pīrdastagīr (1) who holds a rosary. The names of the saints are: (2) Khwāja Mū'īnu'ddīn Chishtī, (3) His Holiness Hazarat Khwāja Quṭbu'ddīn Hazarat Sheikh Faridastagīr, and (5) Hazarat Burhānu'ddīn; (6) Sharaf Shāh Abū Qualandar is seated by himself in the right corner at the bottom of the painting. He does not wear any turban in contrast to the other saints, but his bald forehead is turned away from the assembly, his eyes are c[illegible], and his head is surrounded by a halo just as that of the other figures. The ha[illegible] the figures rest on their knees.

Details and colours: (1) Yellowish coat, green scarf, vermilion halo with border of gold rays, white turban, white beard; (2) vermilion bolster, fawn coat, brown fur trimming, green halo, white turban, black beard; (3) fawn coat, dark grey scarf, mauve halo, green turban, short beard; (4) green coat with white undergarment, white turban, black beard, greying on sides; (5) mauve coat, white undergarment, halo greyish blue with border of golden rays, fawn turban; (6) grey coat, edged mauve, black beard, bald forehead, white locks, green halo.

White ground, thickly primed, grey-blue sky with copper-coloured clouds on top.

Middle eighteenth century.

7″ × 11½″.

Re: Portraits of Hazarat Pirdastagir, cf. Sarre, Rembrandt's Zeichnungen nach Indisch-Islamischen Miniaturen, Jahrb. Königl. Preussische Kunstsamml., 1904, Fig. 4; Goetz: Indische Historische Porträts, *l.c.*, Pl. XI.
Re: Portraits of Khwāja Mū'inu'ddin Chishti, cf. Goetz, *l.c.*
Re: Portraits of Hazarat Khwāja Quṭbu'ddin, cf. Goetz, *l.c.*; Sarre, *l.c.*
Re: Portraits of Sharaf Shāh Abū Qualandar, cf. Goetz, *l.c.*; Sarre, *l.c.*

14. BĪBĪ RĀBI'A OF BASARA

(Inscribed in Persian on top.) Bibi Rābi'a, her hands joined in prayer, is shown kneeling in the middle of the picture. An angel offering a cup, approaches her from the left. A book lies to her right. Trees on r. and l. hill, of fallow colour (early morning scene ?), serve as background. Sky tinted with gold, pink, and greyish blue. Bibi Rābi'a wears a long blouse, and a sāṛī over it. Golden halo round her head. The angel with white and gray wings, wears a golden jacket and a bright vermilion skirt, contrasting with the blue and mauve of Bibi R.'s dress.

Middle eighteenth century.

5½″ × 8¾″.

15. PICTURE OF A SAINT

The holy personage is seated in profile leaning against a deep green bolster and red and green cushions to both sides, on an ivory-coloured rug with mauve border. He holds a black rosary; two books and a spittoon in front of him. A golden halo round his head; he is clad in a white coat; deep mauve scarf and white turban projecting backwards with mauve band.

Above, white rampart, pistachio-green sky, streaked red and golden towards the top with whitish clouds.

Middle eighteenth century.

4″ × 7″.

16. LADY AND ATTENDANTS ON TERRACE WITH BIRDS

The principal figure seated on a low arm chair smokes from an elaborate hukka; her right arm rests on a cushion in her lap, she looks vacantly in the direction of the birds.* Behind her three standing female attendants, the middle with a covered tray, the others holding peacock whisks. Behind them stands an Urdū Bēgī holding a peacock fan on a long pole above head of main lady.

The colour scheme is rich and subdued; on the purplish brown terrace white and greyish blue, dark blue and reddish brown pigeons, parrots, etc. are sporting between trays

* Re: Similar subject of the same date, from Bihar, cf. Stchoukine, La Peinture Indienne, Pl. LXXXII.

with food. The costumes are golden in the main, with purple, mauve, green and white small patterns; the bird's house to the right is golden. Mauve flowers, cypress, banana and mango trees with yellow and red fruits behind terrace, white buildings behind with thinly perforated screens and drawn up purdahs, vermilion-gold and greyish blue sky. Rampart in front, white against green, wall underneath pale mauve.

Creases through picture. End of eighteenth century.
$7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$.

17. A PRINCESS AND HER CONFIDANTE

The princess and her confidante are seated on a white terrace, with red wooden balustrade in front, and white perforated railing at the back. Foreground: green flower-beds with purple red poppies, on either side of tank with fountain. Background: yellow white flowers, mauve flowering shrubs on either side against light green background merging into blue sky on top.

The princess with swaying white skirt (lāhṅgā), a golden scarf round her knees, sits leaning against a square dark green cushion, her left hand placed on skirt on ground, her right hand raised behind her head, holding two small flower wreaths of bel and campaka, as if intending to throw them. Dupaṭṭa over her head, flowing long black hair, upper body nude, white pearl chains, and long garland of bel and campaka crossed in front of chest.

Confidante similarly dressed, faces the princess, holding a letter in her l. hand, her right hand being raised, as if commenting. Her white skirt is also spread out fan-like. The two white skirts make a pattern of swan wings spread out.

Slightly stained. About 1800 A.D.
$5'' \times 8''$.

18. TWO GIRLS PLAYING AT "PHUGRI"

A white terrace with red balusters, green lawn with red flower-beds in front; intensely blue sky.

Two girls with trousers tightly clinging to their legs, skirt, scarf and long hair fluttering behind in violent motion afford a striking colour contrast against the ground, with the deep mauve of peśvāj and dupaṭṭa, the Indian red of pyjāma and colī, the white pearl chains and black hair.

Ear ornaments in rich Deccani style.

About 1800 A.D.
$5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$.

19. A FORMAL GARDEN

Combined "bird's-eye view" and "perspective arrangement" of general plan, "elevation" of details. The square plan shows in the middle of each side water-basins with fountains, in T shape, leading from the sides to the middle of each quarter, which for the rest is parcelled out into rectangular flower-beds by two inner and two outer paths, cut

across by five other paths at right angles. In the centre there is a square tank to which steps are leading from each of the four sides. The " T-bar " arrangement of five fountains in the middle of each side forms another square enclosing the central tank.

Along the main side are placed domed red and gold pavilions, two on each side between trees. Two cypress trees flank each flower-bed.

The flowers on each of the four sides are of one colour only, i.e. mauve, red (poppy), white and yellow respectively.

The painting has been cut in the middle, 1" of it is missing. Early nineteenth century.
11"×10".

20. PORTRAIT OF " BĒGUM TAJUNNISĀ "

The Bēgum, seated with one leg pendent on a blue throne, is attended by a maid-servant.

Colours white, reddish brown and crude blue.

Small holes in paper. Middle nineteenth century.
$5\frac{1}{4}$"×$7\frac{1}{4}$".

Nrs. 21–36

15 Drawings, 8 of them with indications for colouring.

Seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Nrs. 37–59 *

22 Pricked stencils.

Seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

* Apart from this loan collection in Bombay, the Adil Shāh manuscript of Nuṣratī's Mathnawī (p. 159) is in Sir Akbar Hydarī's collection, in Hyderābād; to this belong also the paintings reproduced on Pls. XX and XXIV, 2, besides a large number of drawings. This part of the collection contains more than 70 paintings from Golconda and Hyderābād.

NOTES

PART I

1 (*page* 4). Deccan, Sanskrit: Dakṣiṇāpatha designates the southern region of India, i.e. south of the river Narmadā. The word has not always denoted the same extent of land. To-day it is the name of the country between the Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛṣṇā to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east (D. R. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, pp. 1–3). The modern designation covers the country between Bāgh in the north and Bādāmī in the south. The ancient and wider designation of Dakṣiṇa or Dakṣiṇāpatha includes the monuments in the south also. These will be only referred to in connection with the paintings within the narrower zone. The monuments of Vijayanagar, however, will be dealt with at greater length.

Diacritical marks on the transliterations of Sanskrit words, etc. are given in the notes and index. They are omitted in the text.

2 (*page* 5). gati, see *Abhidharmakośa*, III, 1*a* (transl. de la Vallée Poussin).

3 (*page* 5). *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (transl. D. T. Suzuki) II, XII, 53. Space as visualized in the paintings corresponds to some extent to the element space, i.e. to *ākāśadhātu*, and not to *ākāśa* which is unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). The latter is said to be infinite, boundless, immeasurable, *Milindapañha*, VII, 3. 29. Besides, space as a part of painted form is always *manodvāraviññāṇaṃ*, discerned through the gate of the mind, and never *cakkhuviññāṇaṃ*, discerned by the eye; *Kathāvatthu*, P.T.S., p. 193.

4 (*page* 6). *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, II, 6. 40.

Nivṛtti, return to unconditioned being and *pravṛtti*, outturn towards embodiment, cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 83, note 108.

5 (*page* 6). Abh. K., *op. cit.*, I, 28. Re. internal space see also *Majjhima nikāya* (Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, p. 137). "It is by and because of bones and sinews, flesh and skin, that a space is enclosed which is called a visible shape" and *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., Part III, p. 521: "Space element" has the characteristic of delimiting material objects and of being their holes and openings"; the same in *Atthasālinī*, P.T.S., p. 425.

6 (*page* 6). *bhājanaloka, Abh. K.*, III, 1*b*.

7 (*page* 8). All these views as in Pl. III may be assembled in one painting [illegible]ue.

8 (*page* 10). Cf. G. Yazdani, Note on Frescoes discovered at Ajanta, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. VII, p. 32, Pl. V*b*, where the painting is photographed in its present condition. The reproduction there comprises the scenes from the rocks to the right inclusive of the fainting of the queen.

9 (*page* 10). Here as well as in Barhut (Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 22), the stitched garment is worn as shirt or coat by warriors or hunters respectively. In Ajaṇṭā it is short sleeved, fastened in the middle and held around the waist by a broad sash.

10 (*page* 10). This device is resorted to throughout the classical tradition of Indian painting and is conspicuous with a strong red in Bādāmi, Cave III, 578 A.D. Cf. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, Pl. VII.

11 (*page* 12). Abh. K., III, 90 and III, 68.

12 (*page* 14). Cf. J. Griffiths, *The paintings in the Buddhist cave temples of Ajanta*, Part I, Pl. 19. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, p. 45.

13 (*page* 14). *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, II, XXXV, 90, etc.

14 (*page* 15). As in all Asiatic painting, no shadows are cast in Indian painting also. Modelling shades, however, are the rule and the rounded plastic appearance of the figures throws into stronger relief the absence of shadows. The actual sense perception of shadows is frequently worded in literature, for instance, " the cool shadows thrown by dark clouds wandering round the mountain's zone " (Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, I). This has nothing to do with the vision of the world with reference to the painter who holds this world within himself.

15 (*page* 15). *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, II, 5, (a commentary of the *Triṃśikā* of Vasubandhu), transl. de la Vallée Poussin, p. 792.

16 (*page* 18). *Ibid.*, p. 721 (gotra).

17 (*page* 18). *Mahāvibhāṣā*, compiled at the council of Kaniṣka ; Vasubandhu, fifth century A.D.

18 (*page* 19). Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Ābhāsa, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 52, p. 210.

19 (*page* 19). Shading and adding high lights ; Buddhaghosa, *Atthasālinī*, p. 64, cf. also A. K. Coomaraswamy, An early passage on Indian painting, *Eastern Art*, III, p. 219, note 8.

20 (*page* 20). *Abhidharmakośa*, VI, 12*d*.

21 (*page* 20). *Ibid.*

22 (*page* 22). *Ibid.*, I, 17*a* ; and II, 34*a-b* ; see also *Kathāvatthu*, I, 6. 4-5 ; P.T.S., pp. 86-87.

23 (*page* 24). These are of the same value as the scrolls, animals and other devices. They also intermingle. Apart from their implied symbolism, none of these paintings can be called a ' still-life '.

24 (*page* 25). *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

25 (*page* 26). *ālayavijñāna*, *ibid.*, p. 184.

26 (*page* 26). Abh. K., I, 10*a* ; i.e. *varṇa* and *saṃsthāna*.

The investigation of colour, pp. 25–30, as also that of space is based on its painted ' form '. Correspondences in texts not referring to painting corroborate the validity of the function of colour in painting. The latter, however, does not differ in Brahmanical or Buddhist works nor have the views held by the different Buddhistic schools their precise correspondences in any special types of painting. The basis itself is painted from where the logical possibilities or discrepancies are given scope to arise, and not the dialectical differences. *Varṇa* and *saṃsthāna* are two aspects of *rūpa* and correspond to colour and line of painted form.

27 (*page* 26). See also C. J. Herringham, The frescoes at Ajanta, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XVII, pp. 136–138.

28 (*page* 26). *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part III, Ch. XLI, 5.

29 (*page* 27). Colour as in Ajaṇṭā is employed in this sense. There is no scope, for instance, "to show the sky without any special colour" as enjoined by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part III, Ch. XLII. Where, however, the sky is painted in Ajaṇṭā, as in Cave XVI, in the scene of Buddha's and Nanda's flight, its colour is dark, suggestive of the element *ākāśa*; cf. also the use of black in Elūrā.

30 (*page* 27). *Abh. K.*, I, 28, varṇa, rūpa, i.e. colour as intrinsic form.

31 (*page* 27). *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra*, IX, 36, transl. S. Lévi, p. 79. One speaks of the profundity of the Buddha on the immaculate level as a sign . . . as one speaks of painting space with colours.

32 (*page* 28). *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Pt. III, Ch. XXVII.

33 (*page* 28). *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, II, i. 8, *op. cit.*, p. 792.

34 (*page* 29). *Chāndogya Up.*, VI, 4, 1, and also 6 and 7.

The translation (S.B.E., Vol. I, pp. 95-96) of 'rūpa' as colour is not correct. Rūpa denotes quality or intrinsic form; cf. the *guṇas* and their 'colours', *Études Asiatiques*, E. Sénart, La theorie des guṇas, pp. 285–292.

35 (*page* 29). *Kathāvatthu*, P.T.S., p. 193.

Consistently, the question "what is that form, which is the sphere of (visible) form" is answered: "The form which, derived from the great principles, is visible under the appearance of colour and produces impact". *Dhamma Saṅgaṇi*, transl. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychological Ethics, p. 183.

The elements, the cosmical quarters (horizontally) and the strata, cosmologically and psychologically in vertical sequence, are shown by their respective colours, in Hindu and Buddhist tradition. In painted maṇḍalas altogether six colours, yellow, red, blue, green, white and black are used systematically. Cf. for instance *Śrīcakra-sambhāra Tantra*, Tantrik Texts, Vol. VII, p. 15. *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*, 5, etc. B. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, Fig. 7*a*. The reduction of painting to these principal colours, however, is outside the realm of the 'borderland' as painted in Ajaṇṭā.

36 (*page* 29). *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 27.

37 (*page* 29). *Abh. K.*, I, 10*a*; *āloka* in this connection corresponds to *tejas* in the *Chānd. Up.*

38 (*page* 29). Many of the paintings in Ajaṇṭā have been discoloured by a coat of varnish applied more than half a century ago, i.e. between 1872–1885. The remarks refer to paintings which have escaped or else have been relatively less discoloured.

39 (*page* 29). Acc. to Sāṃkhya and Tarkabhāṣā, cf. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, p. 22.

40 (*page* 30). In the latter function the ground appears also in Persian painting in accordance with multiple perspective.

41 (*page* 33). *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part III, Ch. XLIII.

42 (*page* 33). *alīkam bāhyam*; Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 413.

43 (*page* 34). This does not refer to the panels painted on the ceilings nor to the frames painted around some of the doors.

44 (*page* 34). Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII, wall on right, first pilaster ; wall on left, last pilaster.

45 (*page* 34). Cave II, cf. G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, Pl. XXXIII.

46 (*page* 35). The visible world (cf. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, Sagāthakam, 272, 62) is likened to the city of the Gandharvas.

47 (*page* 38). Reproduced in colour, *Ajanta, op. cit.*, Part II, Pl. XXXV, the subject being described *ibid.*, pp. 36–38.

48 (*page* 40). Caves IX and X, Ajanta about 100 B.C. There is an inscription on the arch of Cave X, of the second century, cf. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, p. 2, note 1 ; Caves XVI, XVII, I, II ; approximately within the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Some paintings in Cave I about 600 A.D. and possibly somewhat later ; Bāgh, paintings of Cave IV, correspond to Caves I and II Ajanta ; Bādāmi, Cave III, 578 A.D. ; Kaṇheri, Cave XIV ; Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave temples, Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 63–69 ; faint traces in Auraṅgābād, Caves III and VII ; *Pithalkorā*, Hyderabad, in Caitya Cave I, cf. Archæological Survey of India, Imperial series, 1914, photographs No. 3955*a* and *b*.

49 (*page* 40). The traces of paintings at the Jogīmāra cave, Sirguja, show in some of the figures (for instance, in the third panel) the garment treated similar to reliefs from Jaggayapeṭa (Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 107), and Sāñcī, ground balustrade of stūpa II. The long and skirt-like dhotī makes dilated curves around the legs ; the actual mode of wearing it which underlies this convention is shown on the Yakṣa statues from Patna (Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. 10). The uttarīya flutters away from the body as also in Jaggayapeṭa.

The ceiling of the Jogīmāra cave is an irregular vault and the paintings in yellow and ochre earth colours are arranged in sections in accordance with its shape. In those nearest to the end of the vault, the figures on either side face opposite directions (see Uchayāppa Maṭha paintings of the sixteenth century in Ānegundi, Pls. VIII and IX). Their feet are nearest in each case to the end of the vault. In the four intervening sections the majority of the figures and groups face the respective broad sides of the vault.

These irregular compositional bands across the vault of the ceiling are framed on the one narrow side and near it by a band with large aquatic animals, makara, etc.

In the single sections, foreshortening and oversecting are employed with ease in the agile human figures mostly in three-quarter profile. Vaulted buildings exhibit as a rule and in conformity with their representations in sculpture, two sides with but little foreshortening. Varied are the groups of the figures. They are arranged in parallel rows which are superimposed in the single sections. Freely rhythmical these are connected in the paintings. The third dimension forms part of the setting of the several groups ; loosely these are set always at some distance the one from the other and connected in balanced alignments in the whole of each painted section (cf. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 12). These are clearly discernible despite the layer of paintings subsequently added.

50 (*page* 40). Photographs Nos. 1301–1305 of the Office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle; Archæological Survey of India, S. Circle, photographs of outline sketch No. C. 143; cf. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed., Pl. L.

51 (*page* 40). *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, Pl. XIII, copies.

52 (*page* 40). Photographs of paintings of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, A.S.I., S.C., D. 1780; re. the paintings in the Bṛhadīśvara temple see JISOA, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pls. XX–XXIII.

53 (*page* 40). Fragments of wall paintings in the manner of Ajaṇṭā are said to have been discovered by Jouveau-Dubreuil in the Central Provinces in the Chānda district (acc. to T. N. Ramachandran).

54 (*page* 40). From the time when copies were made by Griffiths in the third quarter of the last century, to the time when protection was given to the caves by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, these paintings were badly disfigured by scratches, etc.; cf. the reproduction from the original paintings as they appear to-day, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. VII, Pl. V, with the photo of a hitherto unpublished copy made by Griffiths (Pl. I) corresponding to the left half of Pl. V*b*, *Annual Bibliography*.

55 (*page* 41). Cf. the drawings by Griffiths, *The paintings in the Buddhist cave temples at Ajanta*, Vol. I, Pl. 41.

56 (*page* 41). In Deccani and Mughal paintings, cf. Kühnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 104; Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pls. V, VI, etc.

57 (*page* 41). Rocks are shown in relief as irregular chips, as indented cubes, etc. in Barhut, Amarāvatī, etc.; cf. Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 118. The peaked outline of hills is rarely to be met with. The mass of the rock in its crystalline structure is given form. The nearest approach in relief to the rendering of rocks as painted in Cave X is made on a pillar of the North-gate, Sāñci, cf. Waldschmidt, *Grünwedels Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Fig. 81.

58 (*page* 42). The story does not proceed in continuous narration. The moments that matter are laid out on the unrolled band of the frieze in simultaneous presentation of the entire story. See also Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55, Fig. 91, reproduced from a copy of the first scene; Fig. 93, part of the elephant group.

59 (*page* 42). Compartmental walls a-slant across the frieze demarcate also the scenes in the painting on the wall of Cave IX.

60 (*page* 43). Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, Fig. 90. See also Taki [illegible] mple of the earliest Indian painting, *Kokka* No. 353, Dec. 1919.

61 (*page* 43). Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, Pls. 116, 122 top.

62 (*page* 43). The reliefs, as far as they are preserved, w[illegible] lier date for the first mode (Barhut, Sāñci, etc.) and a later for the [illegible] arāvatī, 2nd century A.D.)

63 (*page* 44). Part of this is reproduced from Griffiths' p[illegible]ographed copy, by Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, Fig. 95.

64 (*page* 45). The wide open eyes look frankly outward, in all the faces, whatever the type.

65 (*page* 45). The former mode is subordinated to the latt[illegible]nd has its place in it.

66 (*page* 46). Their positions and allocations are many. The movements of the heads, their turns and the angles at which they are held against the axis of the body are numerous. While the three-quarter profile is the preferred position, the profile and back view are endowed with equal volume and movement. The animals, too, are given volume and freedom of movement in any position. (Cave IX, animal frieze with human figures, corresponding to Amarāvatī ; Cave X, Śyāma Jātaka, gazelles jumping, in profile ; a horse in three-quarter profile, and Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka, elephants seen from any angle).

67 (*page* 47). Cave XVII ; left wall where a pavilion-scene is painted over edge on a pilaster ; and corner of left wall and back wall.

68 (*page* 47). Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. VII, Fig. 24.

69 (*page* 47). Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Pl. XXX.

70 (*page* 48). Re. the identification of most of the Jātakas and their position on the walls see A. Foucher, Lettre d'Ajaṇṭā, *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, Part XVII, pp. 237–242. The copies of the respective scenes, by Griffiths, *op. cit.*, and by Lady Herringham and others, *Ajanta Frescoes*, India Society, 1915, may also be consulted in this connection.

71 (*page* 48). Below the monkey scenes of the Mahākapi Jātaka, Cave XVII, is a light coloured and broad band.

72 (*page* 48). Herringham, *Ajanta Frescoes*, Pl. V.

73 (*page* 49). For instance in Cave IX, Griffiths' copy (*op. cit.*, Pl. 37) shows a blank where actually rocks are painted with buff coloured front surfaces and the undersides orange.

74 (*page* 49). In Rajput paintings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the sky is also dark blue or black.

75 (*page* 49). Re. the tradition of shading the leaves of trees cf. p. 41.

76 (*page* 49). The notes on which the present study is based were taken on the spot during repeated visits. Photographs and reproductions are solely reserved for the Archæological Department of Hyderabad and will be available when the monumental standard work on Ajanta will be published in all its parts. (Hitherto Parts I and II with reproductions of the paintings in caves I and II have appeared.)

77 (*page* 49). *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. VII, Pl. VII*b*.

78 (*page* 50). *Ibid.*, Pl. VII*a*, An unidentified Buddhist Legend ; re. the identification of this scene see Cowell, *The Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 163.

79 (*page* 50). Re. the [illegible]ning of the lotus throne, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddh*[illegible] [illegible]. 39–59 : P. Mus, Barabudur, VI, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'e*[illegible] XIV, fasc. I, p. 204 and passim.

[illegible] [illegible]jects painted is kindred to that of the painted form. The latter is her[illegible] [illegible]n its own substance. In classical Indian painting subject and form are co[illegible] [illegible]edieval painting in India, with re-adaptations, conveys a traditional meaning.

The stylistic process is not to be dissolved from the meaning of the visible form. On the contrary, it exposes it at work with a consistently accumulative, condensing or else reduced displ[illegible] [illegible]its possibilities.

The excavation of cave XVI must have preceded that of cave XVII. This is not only shown by the paintings, but equally by the form of the pillars. Cf. note 134.

80 (*page* 50). Excepting the scene on the terrace preceding the Sutasoma Jātaka.

81 (*page* 50). This refers also to the Jātakas to the right half of the front wall and others.

82 (*page* 51). The middle door between the pilasters is painted with a zigzag border inside and on a lower surface than that of the painted scenes. It is outside the level of the paintings, belongs to the door and does not refer to them.

83 (*page* 51). Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed., Pl. XLVI. The long band unrolled, and the scenes within their compartments shuffled together are stages now embodied in comprehensive presentation.

84 (*page* 52). The transformation runs parallel with that of contemporary sculpture. Cf. *Indian Sculpture*, p. 54, etc.

85 (*page* 53). Cf. female figure next to the door, with the one on the left of the pavilion in the Mahājanaka Jātaka, Cave I, Yazdani, *Ajanta*, I, Pl. XII or the male figure to the left of the horses of the chariot with types of the same painting, whereas the part of the Viśvantara Jātaka painting above the third door, forestalls in type the painting of the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka, Cave II ; Pl. II of the present treatise.

86 (*page* 53). A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XLVII, Fig. 179.

87 (*page* 54). *Ajanta, op. cit.*, Part I, Pl. XI.

88 (*page* 54). They differ from the other images carved in Ajaṇṭā as broad and weighing masses, and are an equivalent in sculpture to the painted types. This does not result from the fact that the coat of plaster and paint is still preserved in their case and has disappeared in the other sculptures. The carving itself is of a different type and is also to the found elsewhere in the Deccan, for instance at Nāsik, cf. *Indian Sculpture, op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, Fig. 69.

89 (*page* 55). *Ajanta, op. cit.*, Part I, Pls. XXIV–XXVII. V. Goloubew, Documents pour servir a l'étude d'Ajanta. Les peintures de la première grotte. *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. X, Pls. XV, XVI.

90 (*page* 55). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXI–XXXIII and p. 35.

91 (*page* 55). This type on a lower level of achievement may be seen also in the Māradharṣaṇa scene, *ibid.*, Pls. XXVIII, XXIX ; also in Pl. XXX.

92 (*page* 56). Mahājanaka Jātaka (?), *ibid.*, Pls. XX–XXII. [illegible], An exa[illegible]

93 (*page* 56). With the salver with severed heads (Story [illegible] Cf. *ibid.*, Pls. XX and XXIII*a*.

94 (*page* 57). The fluid doubly curved eyebrow-line, mode[illegible]ould suggest an ea[illegible], is prepared in the paintings of caves XVI and XVII. It attains [illegible] second (Am[illegible]ng with the other symptoms of transformation in the large Padmapāṇi pa[illegible]ng, Cave I.

95 (*page* 57). *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII.

96 (*page* 57). *Ibid.*, Pls. VI–IX. [illegible]rdi[illegible]

97 (*page* 58). For inst. parts of the Mahājanaka Jātaka, *ibid.*, Pls. X[illegible] a[illegible]

98 (*page* 59). In parts of the early paintings of caves IX and X the relief-like occupation by the figures of the ground was still valid. This type of vision, however, has no actuality in the later paintings.

99 (*page* 59). Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed., Pl. XLVI.

100 (*page* 59). *Ajanta*, I, Pls. XII–XV*a*.

101 (*page* 59). *Ibid.*, Pl. XV*b*.

102 (*page* 59). *Ibid.*, Pls. XVI–XVIII.

103 (*page* 60). Cf. also *ibid.*, Pls. VI–IX and XXIII*a* referred to above; also Pl. XXXVII.

104 (*page* 60). *Ibid.*, Pl. XI.

105 (*page* 60). See note 87.

106 (*page* 60). *Ajanta*, I, Pl. XXXIV.

107 (*page* 60). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXIV–XXXVI.

108 (*page* 60). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXVIII–XXIX.

109 (*page* 60). Cf. p. 53.

110 (*page* 61). Foucher, *l.c.*, pp. 226, 227.

An interpretation of the relation of the paintings and the available wall space in terms of architectural application or tectonic principle, would be extraneous to these paintings.

111 (*page* 61). *Ajanta*, I, Pl. XXIX*b*.

112 (*page* 61). Cf. note 103.

113 (*page* 61). *Ajanta*, I, Pls. XX–XXII; XI; XXXIV*a*.

114 (*page* 61). *Ibid.*, Pl. V.

115 (*page* 61). *Ibid.* The cloud motif, peeping forth above the scales, anticipates clouds painted in Elūrā, cf. Pl. V. This form, in a nascent stage, appears in the Śaṅkhapāla Jātaka, cf. *Ajanta*, Part I, Pl. XI.

116 (*page* 62). Yazdani, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 46, suggests a later period, about A.D. 600 for this painting (Pl. XXXVIII). Not only in this scene, but also in other paintings in caves X, XVII, I and II (Griffiths, *op. cit.*, Pls. 42*a*, 54, 94 no. 4, 95 no. 4, 29; V. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., Pl. 56, Fig. B; Yazdani, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XXX), the Sassanian motif of fluttering ribbons is noticeable.

The most interesting occurrence of this motif is in cave X, where the flying figure of a Vidyādhara has a lock of hair on his forehead not unlike that of the figures on a Central [illegible] painted wooden box, cf. W. Norman Brown, A Bronze vessel from Central Asia, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II, Pl. XXXVIII.

117 (*page* 62). With the scanty documentation of painting of this phase, it is as yet not possible to [illegible]tigated [illegible] of the lowering and transference of levels and to trace it to its sources. [illegible] feasible that repeated immigrations from the North, from that of the Śa[illegible] onw[illegible]nd for considerably more than half a millennium resulted in a fusion [illegible]ous traditions.

Acc[illegible]. Bhandarkar, Foreign elements in Hindu population, *Indian Antiq*[illegible], pp. [illegible]4, the following Northerners ruled over the Deccan or parts of

it : the Kṣaharatas, a Śaka family ; the Ābhīras—Ahir Sonārs and Ahir Sutārs, i.e. Ahir goldsmiths and Ahir carpenters working side by side in Khāndesh with Sonārs and Sutārs of the previous population. The original tribal name soon sinks to a division or to a mere surname, and the whole tribe is thus absorbed into the general class. A separate dialect in Khāndesh known as Ahirāṇī is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa ; the Kalacuri, a sept of the Haihayas, ruled over Khāndesh, Nāsik, etc. A portion of the present Hyderābād was governed by a Haihaya chieftain. In the first half of the seventh century, a century after their coming into India, the Gūjars, intimately connected with the White Huns, had become Hindus and actually acquired the rank of Kṣatriyas. In Khāndesh the husbandmen belong to two main divisions, local and Gūjar Kuṃbis. In the last quarter of the sixth century one horde of Cālukyas migrated from the Savālakh mountains and spread as far south as the Madras Presidency ; cf. also D. R. Bhandarkar, Gurjars, *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 413–433.

118 (*page* 62). *Ajanta*, Part II, Pls. VII–XI ; XV–XVI ; XLV, XLVI.

As in painting, so also in dhyāna. Re. colour and the rūpajhāna see *Atthasālinī*, XII, P.T.S., p. 255, of which the following is a summary. "In doing the preamble of (1) blue-green, (2) yellow, (3) red and white respectively as to one's own body, one does it (1) with reference to the hair, the bile, or the pupil of the eye ; (2) with reference to the fat, the skin or the yellow spot of the eye ; (3) with reference to the flesh, the blood, the tongue, the palms of the hands and feet and the red of the eyes. In doing the preamble of white it is done with reference to the bones, the teeth, the nails or the white of the eye."

119 (*page* 62). The outline retains its delimiting function. Coloured, it is part of the entire colour modelled substance. See *Ajanta, op. cit.*, Part II, Pls. IX, X*a*.

120 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Part II, Pls. XVIII*b*–XXIII ; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 19, note 1.

121 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Pls. XII–XIV.

122 (*page* 65). Such ponderous expanses, further thinned out, are frequent in Tun Huang.

123 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, *a*, *b*. See also Pl. XXXII.

124 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Figure on utmost left of Pl. XXXIII*a*.

125 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXV–XLIV.

126 (*page* 65). *Ibid.*, Pls. IX, X*a* ; Indra and Yakṣas ; Vidyādharas.

127 (*page* 66). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXVII, XXIX.

128 (*page* 66). *Ibid.*, Pls. XXIV, XXV.

129 (*page* 66). See p. 57. Cf. also cave XVI, p. 50.

130 (*page* 69). *The Bagh Caves*, India Society, 1927, Pls. X[illegible] ; the paintings are contemporary with the paintings, caves I and II, Ajaṇṭā.

131 (*page* 69). See Part I, notes 50–52.

132 (*page* 69). For inst. Kramrisch, Nepalese Painting, *Journal* [illegible] *Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. I, Pl. XXXVII. Foucher, *Etude s*[illegible] *Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Pl. X, etc.

133 (*page* 69). Kramrisch, Paintings at Bādāmī, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, Pls. VII–X.

134 (*page* 69). The pillars in these caves show a change of form of which the speed keeps pace with that of the paintings. The majority of those in cave XVI are of an early type. On both the sides and at the back of the hall they consist of plain octagonal shafts only and are without capitals. Only in the front row they have bracket capitals and the two middle pillars are more articulate; with a square part at the base, an octagonal and subsequently polygonal shaft, large cubical abacus and a thinner, projecting one above, they show small and simple bracket capitals.

The pillars of cave XVII are further differentiated. Square at the bottom, octagonal and subsequently polygonal as the shafts of cave XVI, they terminate with a round band across the polygonal end piece and an octagonal jewelled band below the square scroll abacus. Above this is a roll bracket. In cave I the pillars have the shaft round, above its third, polygonal part. This may or may not be fluted vertically or else diagonally. On the shaft rests an āmalaka and above this is a plain and narrow plinth. On it rests the bracket capital which has no rolls. On some pillars (in the middle of the right side) figures of gaṇas issue in the four directions from the round or fluted part of the shaft to the abacus; flat lotus plaques intervene between them. There is however no āmalaka. These two varieties are contracted into one yet more complex type. The pillar to the left of the sanctuary (in its florid decoration it is akin to pillars in cave II) makes the gaṇas start from the āmalaka, whereas the pillar to the right is equally florid in its decoration but there are no gaṇas.

The pillars of cave II have a square, hexagonal and then a polygonal part and above this a highly decorated octagonal part, then āmalaka with gaṇas, then low abacus and a plain bracket capital.

PART II

1 (*page* 73). Besides these relatively well preserved paintings, there are traces of painting on the ceilings of Daśāvatāra (also in Trivikrama relief), Nīlakaṇṭha; Dhumar Leṇā, 3rd floor of Tin-Tāl (Tree branches modelled in plaster and painted), Do Tāl, Buddhist cave No. 5, etc. The exterior of the Kailāsanātha temple to-day has traces of paintings not more than two centuries old. Originally however, it must have been painted too. The soaring figures (cf. Levi-Brühl, *Aux Indes*, Pl. 92), which to-day are carved against a bare expanse of wall, may originally have been surrounded by painted clouds.

2 (*page* 73). Kailāsanātha temple, interior, on door jambs and lintel; Indra-sabhā, shrine of cave 31 east, three-storeyed excavation on the southern side of the Kailāsanātha has traces of a large panel of Śiva dancing, with minor panels laterally, on the wall of the veranda in the second story.

3 (*page* 73). In Ajaṇṭā cloud devices are behind the flying figures on the ceiling (Ajanta, II, Pl. XXX) and on the walls, cf. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 180; Pl. III of the present treatise.

4 (*page* 74). A flying figure is painted part of the Trivikrama relief in the Daśāvatāra cave; painted Vidyādharas are next to the carved group of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa in cave III, Bādāmī, cf. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, Pl. X.

5 (*page* 74). Cf. copies, Pl. III, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. VIII, Yazdani, Note on the progress made by H.H. the Nizam's Arch. Dept., p. 18.

6 (*page* 75). See Part I, note 5.

7 (*page* 76). *Annual Bibliography, l.c.*, Vol. VIII, Pl. III*d*.

8 (*page* 78). *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. VIII, Pl. III, Figs. *a–c*, *i*.

9 (*page* 78). With the exception of the clouds in the Gomateśvara painting on the wall of the shrine, cave 31 east.

10 (*page* 78). D. V. Thompson, Preliminary notes on some early Hindu paintings at Ellora, *Rūpam*, 1926, Figs. 5 and 6; Coomaraswamy, Frescoes at Elūrā, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1926, p. 5 and Pl. III, Fig. 3 refers to this type of painting as "in some way related to a southern school".

11 (*page* 80). Coomaraswamy, Frescoes at Elūrā, *l.c.*, Pls. I and II; Thompson, *l.c.*

12 (*page* 81). There is however also at times in the southern type of painting a thick black outline around a faint colour modelling; cf. note 9.

13 (*page* 81). *Annual Bibliography, l.c.*, Pl. III, Fig. *d*.

14 (*page* 81). Cf. V. Goloubew, La descente de la Ganga sur terre, *Ars Asiatica* III.

15 (*page* 81). T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, Pls. LXIV, Fig. 2; LXX.

16 (*page* 82). Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. LII, Fig. 188.

17 (*page* 82). Cf. *Triveni*, Vol. IV, No. 1; and T. N. Ramachandran, Pallava painting, *Gaurīśaṅkar Ojha Volume*; Part I, notes 50–52.

18 (*page* 82). See p. 60.

19 (*page* 82). Vaiṣṇava paintings on the ceiling of the rock-cut temple at Malayadipatti, Pudukkotta State, between 788–840 A.D. J. Ph. Vogel, The discovery of frescoes in South Indian temples, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, 1931, p. 17.

20 (*page* 82). S. K. Govindasvami, cf. *JISOA*, Vol. 1, Pls. XX–XXIII; S. Paramasivan, A note on the dating of the frescoes in the Bṛhadiśvara temple at Tanjore, *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1936, p. 363.

21 (*page* 82). The hair ornate with flowers snugly fits the head of the female figures in Elūrā. They do not wear high crowns as in Māmallapuram.

22 (*page* 82). *Indian Sculpture*, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI. These traits in sculpture are also frequent in the school of Veṅgī (2nd century B.C.–3rd century A.D.).

23 (*page* 83). Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. LV, Fig. 193; O. Brühl, *l.c.*

24 (*page* 83). *Indian Sculpture*, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 76.

25 (*page* 84). *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV, Fig. 77.

26 (*page* 84). *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 71.

27 (*page* 84). The curve of the torso has this quality also in the back view, cf. *ABIA*, Fig. *b*, left panel. This motif as a position of carrying one's body occurs in Ajaṇṭā, cave XVII, cf. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 179; as a motif of elation in Māmallapuram; it is invested with power in Elūrā.

28 (*page* 84). They do not refer to any time of the day. Indian red, terre verte and buff-coloured, their function is that of perpetual emblems. The star and sun like asterisks painted near the upper margin of these panels, *Annual Bibliography*, *l.c.*, Pl. III, have a similar function.

[illegible] (*page* 85). With its leaf it accompanies the outline of the trunk of the elephant. Re[illegible]ng lotus stalk in the surface cf. also Śittanavāśal, Havell, *op. cit.*, Pl. L. See Part I, note 50.

30 [illegible]. In the devolution of painting in Ajaṇṭā, the Śibi Jātaka of cave I occupies a [illegible] near to that of the Elūrā paintings. The outline thickened to the quality of stained glass window leading, holds energy. In this painting too, clouds appear in layers, curved and indented in shuffled surfaces, each slightly modelled. Corresponding versions occur in reliefs in Bādāmī and Elūrā.

31 (*page* 88). The reproduction is from an original photograph, by the courtesy of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. A coloured copy of this and other paintings at Elūrā are reproduced by G. Yazdani, The Fresco Paintings of Ellora, Pls. A–F, *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 19–22.

32 (*page* 89). Frescoes at Ellora, *Annual Bibliography*, *l.c.*, Pl. III, Fig *b*, left.

33 (*page* 89). Strzygowski, *Asiens Bildende Kunst*, p. 578. The nomads of " Middle Asia " are mainly Mongols and Turks. Their country is between the Pamir and Amur, the Himālaya, Altai and Tien Shan Mountains. In " Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei ", p. 79, Strzygowski assigns to the Turks the geometrical scroll with the circular lobe—corresponding to the curve and dot motif in Elūrā—and to the Mongols the Rococo development of the swinging line.

34 (*page* 89). Pl. VI, the tallest couple of Vidyādharas.

35 (*page* 90). Indian Sculpture, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

36 (*page* 90). Some of the figures in Mīrān, of the third and early fourth century A.D., —Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Vol. I, p. 538, Figs. 134–140—although with a larger share of the Hellenistic element, seem somehow related in their self-conscious glance and the manner of carrying the head, to the gaṇas on Pl. VI. Their kind is different from that of similar figures in the same painting, for inst. the one on the left, near the upper margin of the outer rectangle. The modelling also of the cheeks of the gaṇas and especially around the corners of the mouth is less taut and more detailed than that of other faces.

Related types approximately of the same date as the Elūrā Fresco, Pl. VI, are painted on a wooden box from Soubachi near Koutchar, Turkestan, cf. W. Norman Brown, A bronze vessel from Central Asia, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II, Pl. XXXVIII, p. 84. Re. Ajanta, see also Part I; note 116.

A different combination of some of the elements which commingle in Pl. VI, belongs to the decoration of a bronze vessel, cf. Coomaraswamy, An Indian bronze bowl, *Ostasiatische Zeitchrift*, N.F. 6, 1930, pp. 247–249; W. Norman Brown, *l.c.*, Pl. XXXVII.

Other instances of a commingling of Hellenism and up-to-date Indian form in Central Asia, are from Qyzil, Eastern Turkestan, cf. A. v. Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike Mittelasiens*, Vol. III, Pl. IX*a*; Vol. VI, Pl. III*c*, and from Dandān Uiliq, cf. Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. LXIII, Fig. D. X4, pp. 259-260. According to their geographical situation, the paintings show stylistical differences.

37 (*page* 90). Coomaraswamy, Frescoes at Elūrā, *l.c.*, Pl. 2, *HIIA*, Pl. LVII.

38 (*page* 92). *Annual Bibliography, l.c.*, Pl. III, Fig. *c*.

39 (*page* 92). *Indian Sculpture, op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 71.

40 (*page* 93). Cf. Kramrisch, in Strzygoswki, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, p. 114.

41 (*page* 93). Obviously a protracted infusion of new blood into the people o[illegible]can brought about this adaptation, cf. Part I, note 117.

42 (*page* 94). Comparable to Coḷa types in sculpture.

43 (*page* 94). *Annual Bibliography, l.c.*, Pl. III, Fig. *d*.

44 (*page* 94). Cf. paintings in the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Tanjore, *l.c.*

45 (*page* 94). *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, Pl. D (copy).

46 (*page* 94). The dancing Śiva painted in the middle of the ceiling of the s. porch, occurs again on the bottom surface of the door lintel on the s. side and leading to the s. porch. Its version, however, conforms with that of the other paintings in the main hall. There is also a fragment of a dancing Śiva, on the beam opposite the entrance, in the western porch.

47 (*page* 96). Thompson, Rūpam, *l.c.*, Fig. 4 and description on p. 46. Only the upper part of this reproduction is shown there.

48 (*page* 96). Hitherto identified as Śiva, in the literature quoted on the Elūrā paintings. The vāhana is a buffalo.

49 (*page* 98). Physiognomically they resemble figures painted in the western porch, Kailāsanātha temple, cf. (copy) *Annual Report of the Arch. Dept. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, l.c.*, Pl. F, lower panel. Coomaraswamy, Frescoes at Elūrā, *l.c.*, Pl. 3, Fig. 4.

Related types of about the same age are frequent also in Burmese wall paintings in the Patothamya and Kubyaukkyi temples. *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Reports for the years* 1930–34, p. 181, Pl. CIX and frontispiece. With round open eyes, pointed beard and a sleek outline, they are as much reminiscent of figures as painted on the ceiling Indra-sabhā cave, No. 33, as other figures are translated into flamboyant lines from the type of Lakṣmī, etc. of the Kailāsanātha, w. porch (Pl. V).

An intermingling of these medieval types with the otherwise well-known Nepalese mode of painting can be seen in a Nepalese manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prājñāpāramitā (dated 1203 A.D.?) at Ngor monastery, Tibet, where it was photographed by Rev. Rahula. Cf. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1935, Part I. The photograph has not been published as yet.

50 (*page* 98). W. Norman Brown, Early Śvetāmbara miniatures, *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 16.

51 (*page* 99). Cf. also the black ground of the paintings at Tirumalai. V. Smith, *HFAIC*, 1st ed., p. 344.

52 (*page* 99). This rudimentary colour scheme need not be due to the action of time and the wearing away of superimposed tints.

53 (*page* 100). Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 179.

54 (*page* 100). The black of the thick outline in these paintings has itself the value of colour especially as black is not only the colour of the limit but also of the interval between [illegible]. of the ground. The leading effect of the outline of the figures of the Śibi Jātaka, cave I, Ajaṇṭā, forestalled this. The line in its function of outline and of black colour value is clear, for inst. round the clouds of the Gomateśvara painting, on the entrance wall of the shrine of Indra-sabhā, cave 31.

55 (*page* 100). W. Norman Brown, Early Śvetāmbara miniatures, *l.c.*, Fig. 2.

56 (*page* 101). Coomaraswamy, Frescoes at Elura, *l.c.*, Pl. 3, Fig. 4. *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, l.c.*, Pls. D, E, F (copies).

57 (*page* 101). See page 43.

PART III

1 (*page* 107). The paintings in the Narasiṃhadeva temple at Pillalmari, Nalgonda district, Hyderābād (cf. *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1926-27, p. 3; 1927-28, p. 19) on three beams of the maṇḍapa on the square above the entrance to the garbhagṛha are not contemporary with the temple, which has been built according to an inscription in the year 1195 A.D. The paintings do not conform with the sculptures nor with paintings elsewhere in the Deccan of this date. They have been added in the seventeenth century, see Part IV, note 1.

2 (*page* 107). T. N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunṛam and its Temples*, p. 162, suggests tentatively that the earlier series of paintings, *op. cit.*, Pls. VI and VII, probably dates from about the seventeenth century.

3 (*page* 107). Narrative of Domingo Paes; Sewell, A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), p. 288.

4 (*page* 107). Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

5 (*page* 107). Original photographs of Pls. VIII and IX were placed at my disposal by th[illegible] courtesy of the Director of Archæology, Hyderābād.

Only the border on the left, a very small fragment of the panel on the ceiling and the camel rider of Pl. VIII are left to-day. Of the paintings on Pl. IX the central portion with the riding figure in each panel has but for a part of the horse's body altogether been washed away.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Do[illegible], 1927-28, p. 19, assigns these paintings to about the fifteenth century, cf. als[illegible] *H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominion*, 1914-15, p. 9, where the paintings in "Oncha Ap[illegible] Matha" are assigned to the seventeenth century.

6 (*page* 107). *Tiruparuttikunṛam, op. cit.*, Pl. VI, relief medallion of Fig. 2; Pl. VII, Fig. 4, re. types of crowns.

7 (*page* 107). *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, Fig. 4.

8 (*page* 107). *Ibid.*, Fig. 2.

9 (*page* 107). Cf. the crowns with those of metal images, F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu metal images in the Madras Government Museum*, Pl. I, Fig. I, which can be assigned to the thirteenth century approximately.

10 (*page* 108). *Tiruparuttikunṛam*, Pl. VI, Fig. 2.

11 (*page* 108). The horse of heavy body and small head is akin in outline to the one reproduced on Pl. IX.

12 (*page* 108). *Tiruparuttikunṛam, op. cit.*, Pl. VII, Fig. 5.

13 (*page* 108). Line drawings incised on stone slabs of Rāicūr fort, dated in 1294 A.D. (*Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1933, Pl. VII, pp. 7–9) are medieval in showing the human figures in the profile of

perfect visibility. All on one ground line, the animated groups are immediate like sketches. The zest of their movements has a freshness which survives in the low reliefs of Vijayanagar of the early sixteenth century on the walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple and of the throne platform.

14 (*page* 108). Gujarāti painting is hitherto known only in illustrations of books and scrolls.

15 (*page* 108). See Part I, note 117.

16 (*page* 108). i.e. by Vikramāditya I in the seventh century and by Vikramāditya II in the eighth century.

17 (*page* 108). V. Smith, *op. cit.*, 345, mentions paintings on the Jāṅgām Maṭha, Ānegundi, of ascetics, their followers and admirers painted with considerable spirit and vigour. These cannot be traced.

18 (*page* 110). Women as bearers, cf. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 381.

19 (*page* 111). Besides the paintings here reproduced there are also traces of paintings left on the beams between the front row of the high pillars. A woman lying on a couch, on the bottom surface of the beam between the third and fourth pillar from the right deserves notice. Its motif is akin to paintings of the same subject, in Hyderābād, of the seventeenth century and later, see Part IV, note 96.

It is painted to the left of a carved lotus, while the figure of an elephant is shown on the right of it.

20 (*page* 112). Paintings of the Vijayanagar phase have been found recently in South India at Somapalle, Chittoor district, by Dr. James H. Cousins and at Lepakshi, Anantapur district, by C. Sivaramamurti.

The date of the temple at Somapalle is said to be 1578 A.D. and the paintings at Lepākṣi cannot be posterior to 1541 A.D. as the temples there have inscriptions of the time of Acyutarāya (S. Sivaramamurti, Vijayanagara paintings at Lepakshi, *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Vol.*, 1937, pp. 75–85).

21 (*page* 112). Cf. *Indian Sculpture, op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII, Fig. 108; H. Cousens, *Mediæval temples of the Dakhan*, Pl. XXXVI (medallion from temple at Vaghli).

22 (*page* 114). Faulty Telugu inscriptions referring to the subjects on Pl. IX are according to T. N. Ramachandran in characters of approximately the seventeenth century. I am indebted to him for reading them. Paṁcanaraturangam and pa(ṁ)canarīkunjaṁram (the latter should read kunjaraṁ).

23 (*page* 114). Cf. Kṛṣṇa riding an elephant made of nine women, in a scroll painting from Bengal, G. S. Dutt, The indigenous painters of Bengal, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. I, Pl. VIII, p. 23.

Similar subjects figure in lacquer paintings of the seventeenth century, some from Cuddapah, in the art section of the Government Museum, Madras. Tavernier, *Les six voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris, 1676, Vol. II, p. 99, speaks of an elephant made of nine dancing girls. The king riding on this elephant made his entry into Masulipatam. An elephant of nine and a horse of seven women carved on an ivory box from S. India, cf. Goetz, Geschnitzte Elfenbeinbüchsen aus Süd-Indien, *Jahrbuch*

der Asiatischen Kunst, 1925, Pl. 71. Kāma supported by Navanarī Kuñjara, (a South Indian miniature of the nineteenth century), *ibid.*, Pl. 72.

Mughal and Persian drawings, and paintings of similarly combined animals abound. Cf. Strzygowski, Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei, Pl. 104, p. 223, where the connection is suggested of Kāma or Kṛṣṇa on an elephant made of five or nine women and of allied combined animals, with the signs of the zodiac and corresponding combinations in Persian, Armenian and Scythian examples.

PART IV

1 (*page* 117). The paintings in the Narasiṃhadeva temple at Pillalmari belong to this phase. Although they are of an indifferent quality, the roundness of limb and modelling line are akin to the Ānegundi paintings. So is the clear profile of the face with the eye almost without foreshortening. The sārī passes over the left shoulder and covers the back of the head as in the *Tarif-i-Ḥussain Shāhī* paintings (Pl. XII, 2) from Aḥmadnagar and datable in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The loose end, however, hangs on the back in a curve—now without animation—and familiar from illustrations of the *Nujum-al-'Ulūm*, Bijapur, 1570 (Pl. X, top). A drawing of later date showing Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar (Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Pl. III) has an attendant figure of a woman similarly dressed.

The frieze of the battle with Rāvaṇa shows the faint yet sufficiently distinguishable figures of Rāvaṇa's retinue, on elephant and horseback in strict profile wearing long coats (jāma') and flat pagrīs slightly elongated, i.e. hanging down towards the nape of the neck. The relative curvedness of the profiles is due to an infiltration of the Mughal idiom of Akbar's time as for instance in a painting of a Gujarātī craftsman "Sūr Gujarātī" (cf. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. IX; profile figures at the bottom).

2 (*page* 117). *The Library of A. Chester Beatty*, A catalogue of the Indian miniatures, by Arnold and Wilkinson, 1936, Pls. 3–5; p. 3. There is an inferior copy of the same manuscript bearing the same date, A.H. 978, in the same collection; it is painted on coarse and unburnished paper. No gold is used and there are no tufts of grass, etc. on the dull colours of the ground. Cf. also Binyon, Relation between Rajput and Mughal painting, *Rupam*, No. 24, Figures 1–3; Coomaraswamy, Notes on Indian Painting, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, I, pp. 9–11, Fig. 4; Goetz, La Peinture Indienne, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1936, Figs. 4, 5.

3 (*page* 117). H. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. XVII–XIX, Pls. V–VIII.

4 (*page* 117). "After the death of Bahādur Niẓām Shāh in 1599, Aḥmadnagar was annexed to Delhi but Malik 'Ambar maintained his independence at first as deputy of Murtaza II Niẓām Shāh (1599–1607) and afterwards as sole ruler of Daulatābād and Auraṅgābād until his death in 1626 when his son was conquered and the whole of the kingdom annexed to Delhi." D. B. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 207.

5 (*page* 117). Ferishta (Briggs), *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, Vol. III, pp. 4, 31, 78.

6 (*page* 117). Hammer, *Histoire de L' empire Ottoman*, Vol. II, pp. 43 and 119.

7 (*page* 117). *Basātīnu's Salāṭīn*, Ḥyderabād lithograph, p. 275; Yazdani, Two miniatures from Bījāpūr, *Islamic Culture*, April, 1935.

8 (*page* 118). Goetz, La Peinture Indienne, *l.c.*, p. 277, mentions the South Persian, Arabian and Ottoman factors in the Islamic art of the Deccan against the North Persian and Turanian elements in that of Hindustan.

9 (*page* 118). Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the early seventeenth century*, pp. XX, XXI.

10 (*page* 118). *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers), Vol. II, pp. 36-37; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, Vol. I, p. 40; Vol. IV, p. 396.

11 (*page* 118). See specially the Jaipur Razm-Nāmah; also Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX.

12 (*page* 118). *Narrative of the voyage of 'Abdur Razzāq*, Hakluyt Society, India in the fifteenth century, pp. 21-22, mentions wall paintings seen in 1442 A.D.

13 (*page* 118). Paintings on walls in Bījāpūr were erased by Aurangzīb. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, p. 54; J. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, IV, 326.

14 (*page* 118). D. B. Parasnis, *Poona in bygone days*, p. 8. The wall paintings of Tippu Sāhib at Seringapatam belong to the late eighteenth century.

15 (*page* 118). The appreciation of Persian work was not necessarily critical.

Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, p. 150, mention a line drawing of a tree with birds and animals, slightly coloured, inscribed in Persian, "this is one of marvels of Bihzād" on the back of a specimen of calligraphy executed in A.D. 1585 for Sultān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh of Golconda. The Persian drawing is of about the same period.

16 (*page* 118). British Museum, Add. 6613, A.H. 1076. Five poems of Niẓāmī pain. Persian style, the figures dressed in Indian Costume written for Tāj Mirzā Abū Ḥasana (1672–87); Br. M. Add. 18579 (Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 755) has a note on the fly-leaf that this book was written and illuminated for Tānā Shāh. It is a manuscript of Anwār-i-Suhaylī, dated A.H. 1019 and the illustrations are painted in Mughal style. The date precludes its having been written and illuminated for Tānā Shāh.

17 (*page* 118). *Majālis-al-'Ushshāk*, India Office Library, No. 1138; *Kulliyāt of Sa'dī*, Br. Ms. Add. 17961.

18 (*page* 119). Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Boston Museum*, VI, Pl. 58, p. 64.

19 (*page* 119). Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

20 (*page* 119). Sarre-Martin, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammadanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, Pl. 38, signed by Jahāngīr's painter, Hāshim.

21 (*page* 119). Reproduced in colour, as frontispiece by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd edition; Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXX.

22 (*page* 119). Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX. Coomaraswamy, *l.c.*, Part VI, Pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII, are connected in style and subject with the two Deccani portraits by Mīr Hāshim.

23 (*page* 119). Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, Turkey and India*, p. 105. Daulatābād paper appears to be the one most frequently used. It is not quite clear what manufactures are referred to as 'Ādil Shāhī and Niẓām Shāhī. The paper from Aḥmadābād which, Bayley, *Gujarāt*, p. 4, mentions as superior to Daulatābād paper in whiteness and purity and exported to different parts of India, Arabia and Turkey, the author of *Manāqib-i-Hunarwarān* does not mention.

24 (*page* 119). The nine or possibly ten works are: Portraits of (1) Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh of Golconda, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; cf. Havell, *l.c.*; (2) Malik 'Ambar, in the Louvre, Paris, cf. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX; (3) The Ṣūfī-Shaikhs Sa'd-ud-Dīn Hāmunī and 'Ayn-uz-Zamān, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, cf. Martin-Sarre, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammadanischer Kunst*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38, and Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerie*, Pl. 64, Fig. 185; (4) *Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, Khamsa*, fol. 147B; cf. Arnold-Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, Pl. 86, see note 65*a*; (5) Drawing of Hakīm Masīḥ uz-Zamān, the physician of Akbar, British Museum, cf. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters*, Pl. 185; P. Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, Pl. LXV, Fig. 1; (6) Drawing of Mirzā Nauzar, British Museum, Martin, l.c., Pl. 185; (7) Khvājah Abu'l Ḥasan, Louvre, cf. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI; (8) Timur with Bābur and Humāyūn, Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 214; (9) Drawing of Aurangzīb, *ibid.*, Pl. 186; (10) a Nobleman's portrait, Demotte collection, cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Pl. XXVIII.

25 (*page* 119). An illustrated Mathnawī, composed in Deccani Urdū at the instance of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh and containing 14 paintings, is discussed in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, November, 1925 and February, 1926. This manuscript is reported to be lost in a letter dated 17-4-1935, by Prof. Muḥammad Shafi of the Punjab University.

Farrukh Ḥusain 'Ādil Shāhī whose signature appears on a siyāhī qalam drawing; Quṭb Ullāh Yar Beg, of the second half of the seventeenth century, both unpublished miniatures in the collection of Nawāb Sālār Jung of Hyderābād. Shaikh Khudāwand who painted Multafat Khān, cf. Goetz, *Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. IV, and *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kumt*, I, Pl. 38, Fig. 19; Mirzā Muḥammad al Ḥasanī, whose Madonna is reproduced by Coomaraswamy, *Boston Mus. Cat.*, VI, p. 49, Pl. 39 and *Les Miniatures Orientales de la collection Goloubew*, Pl. 76, Fig. 29 as well as by Goetz, La Peinture Indienne, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XIII, p. 285, are mere names.

26 (*page* 119). Ghulām Ḥusayn, *Gulzār-i-Asafiya*, p. 383. I am indebted for this information to Dr. Yusuf Ḥusain, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

27 (*page* 120). Ferishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 80.

28 (*page* 123). The relation of figure and ground in Persian painting from the fifteenth century onwards accommodates some of the principles which had been relied upon to the widest extent in classical Indian painting. On the ground the figures are manifest as coloured surfaces. They are not bodied forth.

29 (*page* 123). It is not possible to distinguish between a Hindu and Mussalman style of painting as Goetz does, La Peinture Indienne, *Gazette*, etc., *l.c.*, pp. 278-279. Indian and Persian motives, costumes, etc., however, can clearly be discerned. The mode of painting, however, is one irrespective of the motif.

30 (*page* 124). The Turk element of form, as far as figures in Indian art are concerned,

is conspicuous in the portrait statuary of the Kuṣānas, at Mathurā. It asserts itself to a limited extent in some of the Hamza-nāmah paintings, (Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Hæmzæ Romanes*, Pl. XXXVII) and leaves its impress on Deccani work of the sixteenth century in a more tangible manner.

31 (*page* 124). Heras, *op. cit.*, Pls. V–VIII.

32 (*page* 124). It has been observed that the square shape of these book illustrations may be in consequence of illustrations on palm leaf of Indian manuscripts. Equally noticeable, however, is the frequent overlapping of the design on the margin, a reminiscence of the Persian freedom of the infinite pattern not to be confined within drawn limits and expanding on to the written page and its margins; according to classical Indian notion, as shown in reliefs, form also encroaches upon the margins (cf. *Indian Sculpture, op. cit.*, Pl. XV, Fig. 49).

33 (*page* 124). The thirty-sixth chapter of the Nujum-al-'Ulūm, on ... "subjugation of fairies and supernatural things according to Indian and Khurasānī m... " treats of the Ruhānis, the spiritual overlords of the various earths or strata as n... al in the "actio in distans". Connected with the figured panels of the seve... his are the respective diagrams. These are for the use of the king in war time and will give victory if used according to instructions. The diagram as a rule has the name of the Ruhāni in the centre, the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac or the names of the days of the week, etc. in the squares around it, and the margin is inscribed with the names of the eight directions. As a rule the diagrams are drawn on one page with the painted panel. The magic rite is as follows: "on the day the king wants to go to battle he must see what month or day it is and on what side of the diagram the date is written. He has to take that side into his hand, and throw it, as the case may be, to the right or left, or behind and then start the battle" (fol. 244).

140 Ruhānis are described and visualized. The names and figures of Devis such as Mahālakṣmī (82), Bhairavī (36), Maheśvarī (13), Yogeśvarī (52), Brāhmaṇī (88), Mayurvāhanī (62); and of Yāma (103), Kāla (89), Narasiṃha (31) are associated as a rule with their proper attributes, or some substitutes such as Kāla whose face reaches down to the waist and who holds in 4 hands, net and angel, scythe and basket.

Others are Śārdulī, Narabandhanī (8) and Āśvabandhī shown in appropriate action, besides Kāmarūpa (66) and Udia (70), the last two probably emblematic of Kāmarūpa and Udyāna.

Besides these figures, the different aspects of the moon; the sun, the planets, etc. are painted with varied abstract or figured devices.

34 (*page* 126). A household goddess in Bengal is called Suvacanī.

35 (*page* 129). MS. P. 834, India Office Library; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of the Hindustani manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 16; Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, op. cit.*, p. 3, note. In a letter to me Mr. Wilkinson agrees with Blumhardt as to the handwriting, which certainly has an eighteenth century look, though it may be earlier. The paintings, however, confirm by their style, the date given in the manuscript. Re. paintings of the type of the Nujum-al-'Ulūm cf. fls. 37*v*, 183, 313, etc.

36 (*page* 130). The late Safawī costume of the male figures appears by the side of contemporary Deccani fashions worn by the female figures. The elaborate jewellery of the preceding century is no longer worn, the colī in some cases is short. Dancers do not wear the sārī. They are clad with a colī, and the cloth worn dhotī-like and covering the legs. Otherwise the sārī is of a striped or else dotted fabric, the latter transparent over an underskirt.

37 (*page* 130). Coomaraswamy, Relation of Moghul and Rajput paintings, *Rūpaṃ*, 1927, Pl. opp. p. 89, Figs. 1 and 2, are anterior to the Khāwar-nāmah illustrations. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 94, Pl. L. Two related series are in the collection of B. N. Treasurywala, Bombay.

An illustrated manuscript of the Upadeśamālā, written at Auraṅgābād in 1723 A.D., contin[illegible]s style in the eighteenth century and in a Jaina context. Hiranand[illegible] *[illegible]ndian Pictorial Art as developed in Book illustrations, Gaekwad's Arch[illegible]es* No. 1, Pl. XII, p. 13.

[illegible] Cf. Part III, note 13; line engravings on stones of Rāicūr fort, dated 1294 [illegible]d strictly in the surface.

[illegible] *page* 131). W. Norman Brown, *Miniature paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, Figs. 136, 138.

40 *page* 132). N. C. Mehta, *Gujarātī painting in the fifteenth century*.

41 (*page* 132). W. Norman Brown, Early Vaiṣṇava miniature paintings from Western India, *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, p. 167.

42 (*page* 133). W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, Figs. 79, 22, 23, etc.

43 (*page* 133). According to an unpublished photograph by Prof. W. Norman Brown.

44 (*page* 133). *Annual Report, Arch. Dept. H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1930, *l.c.*, Pl. E.

45 (*page* 136). The pages of this manuscript are not numbered in their original sequence; acc. to Prof. D. V. Potdar, Hon. Secretary, the numbers were inserted in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃshodhaka Maṇḍala. Fol. 58 has no inscription. It seems to represent the queen and to refer to the text adjoining fol. 58 where the effects of the beauty of the bride are described. "He felt a fresh throbbing of life at the sight of the bride; and his palace appeared brighter than paradise." I am indebted to Prof. D. V. Potdar for the identification and description of this illustration and also for the one reproduced in part, on Pl. XII, 2.

The figure oversecting the margin in Fig. 2 conforms with medieval tendencies, whereas classical Indian tradition is strong in the volume of the figure which oversects the margin in the Uchayappa ceiling.

46 (*page* 138). Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, V, frontispiece and pp. 86-87; *HIIA*, Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 258.

47 (*page* 138). Re. couch see early Rāgamālā paintings.

Re. the wild date palm cf. a relief from Jaggayapeṭa of the second century B.C. of the Veṅgī School; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 142.

48 (*page* 140). The Persian lines on the top of this page (not shown in the reproduction)

mean : (The lover) wanted the beloved (lit. moon) to be present before his eyes, day and night.

The waving of a piece of cloth, a favourite motif not only in these two paintings, is an ancient Indian custom. See Barhut ; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Pl. XII, Fig. 41.

49 (*page* 141). Cf. for instance, Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures Orientales* de la Collection Goloubew ; *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XIII, Pls. XIV and LX, the one prior, the other posterior to the *Tarif-i-Hussain Shāhī* paintings.

50 (*page* 142). Cf. Loose pages, originally palm leaf and later of paper, of Indian manuscripts.

51 (*page* 142). Related paintings are also in the collection of B. N. Treasurywala, Bombay.

52 (*page* 143). Goetz, *Bildaratlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens*, p. 23.

53 (*page* 143). *The Library of Chester Beatty*, Pl. 92, p. 49. The date is given as A.D. 1575.

54 (*page* 144). N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian painting*, Pl. 47.

55 (*page* 144). Cf. Kramrisch ; in Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, p. 116.

56 (*page* 144). Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, Pl. 104 ; p. 64 records an old inscription " Emperor of the Deccan ".

57 (*page* 144). The costumes are of a similar type in these paintings. The face however is wiped off in the Hyderābād illumination. Frontispiece in colour, cf. G. Yazdani, Two miniatures from Bījapūr, *Islamic Culture*, April, 1935.

Cf. also Goetz, Indian miniatures in German Museums and Private Collections, *Eastern Art*, II, p. 161.

58 (*page* 144). For inst. Irvine, Storia do Mogor, Vol. III, Pl. 33, showing the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers.

59 (*page* 144). Blochet, Les Enluminures des manuscripts Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1926, Pl. 109 ; Goetz, *Gazette l.c.*, p. 282 ; Stchoukine, La Peinture Indienne, p. 60.

60 (*page* 144). Cf. a painting by Farrukh Beg, P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Moghuls*, Pl. XXXVIII.

61 (*page* 146). In the Mughal school, the profile begins to prevail from the age of Jahāngīr onwards.

62 (*page* 146). Cf. D. B. Gribble, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 251.

63 (*page* 146). Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, Part VI, pp. 48-49, Pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII.

64 (*page* 147). Note 24 ; 8–10.

65 (*page* 147). *Ibid.*, 3 ; cf. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, Pl. 64, Fig. 185.

66 (*page* 147). The flowers of the bottom may make a line, or in a more descriptive version suggest the ground on which the figures stand. Line or narrow strip of ground (cf. also Pls. XIII and XXIV, 1) scarcely effect a " stage " as the setting of the figures. Even in the most Westernized versions, the ' ground ' on which the figures stand remains akin to the function of the line in paintings of the Baghdad school.

67 (*page* 147). Coomaraswamy, *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Boston Museum, Pl. LXXX, 2.

68 (*page* 148). Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Pl. LXXVI, B. 104*d*.

69 (*page* 148). *Ibid.*, Pl. I.

70 (*page* 151). R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 55.

71 (*page* 151). M. Horten, *Die Philosophic des Islam*, p. 371 and passim.

72 (*page* 152). G. Yazdani, Two miniatures from Bījāpūr, *Islamic Culture*, April, 1935, frontispiece in colour.

73. Sassanian silver bowl, cf. Strzygowski, *Asiens Bildende Kunst*, p. 178. The figure of the king according to Turkish-Mongolian custom is shown squatting on a rug. In the painting of the Bibliothèque Nationale he is seated on a throne, in the Persian manner.

74 (*page* 152). A painter from Shīrāz of the name of Mullah Farrukh Ḥusayn, at the court of Ibrāhīm II, is mentioned in *Islamic Culture*, 1934, *l.c.*, p. 397. See also note 25.

75 (*page* 154). An amount of China and earthenware has been found in Bījāpūr; V. S. Sukthankar, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of Archæology*, pp. 27–30. Cf. also Goetz, Bilderatlas, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

The long qabā is gathered with a frill-like end, see also the frills on the sāṛī, Pl. XII*a*. ... and flat turban of Saljūq origin is shown also in the *Nujum-al-'Ulūm* ...ns, Fol. 313, for 184, etc.

... 157). Arnold-Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, Pls. 84–87.

Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, Khamsa.

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, OR., Fol. 1278 copied before 1617 A.D.

Pl. 84 (Fol. 43). The figure of the attendant waving a cloth, with his arm widely outstretched in the vertical plane, the ground without " depth " and filled with delicate trees of Persian lineage, are akin to Deccani work, cf. Yazdani, Islamic Culture, *l.c.*, Frontispiece.

Pl. 85 (Fol. 95B) has the same motif translated into Mughal terms of action and immediate participation, and not of emblematic pose and connected rhythm as in the former illustration, and in the various Deccani versions of this motif.

Pl. 86 (Fol. 147B) is actually painted by Hāshim, with a conscious and subtle blending of Persian vegetation and hill motifs, a tree which does credit to Bījāpūr versions and a setting of the whole in the vertical plane of the painting; this also belongs to Deccani tradition. The ingenious compilation of a Western architecture motif perched on top of Persian hills, and of purely Mughal human figures in a cleverly conceived composition reflects on Mīr Hāshim's work shortly after his joining the school of Jahāngīr.

77 (*page* 157). Photographs could be obtained with the greatest difficulty as the paintings on account of their varnished surface have disintegrated. They are scarcely discernible. Water had to be repeatedly applied to make them visible during the time required for exposure. Cf. the copies and line drawings by Cousens, *Bījāpūr, and its architectural remains*, Pls. CXI, CXIII.

78 (*page* 157). Considering the little that has survived of Mughal wall paintings in Fatḥpur Sikri and Lahore, these wall paintings are of considerable importance.

79 (*page* 157). Portraits of Western sovereigns were painted on the walls of Daulat Bāgh, Ajmir, under Jahāngīr, *Embassy of Sir Th. Roe*, (ed. Foster), Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 394.

80 (*page* 158). A portrait in the Art Gallery, Calcutta Museum, cf. Coomaraswamy, Notes

on Indian paintings, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, Fig. 5, p. 11, is of later date. It follows, however, the type of the Berlin and Paris examples.

81 (*page* 158). Cousens, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXI.

82 (*page* 159). Yazdani, *Islamic Culture, l.c.*, pl. facing p. 6.

83 (*page* 160). The trees are set by the side and on top of one another. Their foliage is grouped together in clusters in the Indian way with the single leaves outlined and this convention is also the basis for the impressionistic brush strokes with their atmospheric effects in other trees. The circular composition of the trees is a reminiscence of Persian pictorial arrangement. The female figures placed into the middle of the circle of the one landscape are similar to the "style" of the fourth painting of this manuscript of a more virile intention and suggestive of a class of Deccani work of the mid-seventeenth century of which, however, no specimens are known as yet.
Of this period and related to Bījāpūr work are Rāgamālā paintings in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari and also the "Vasanta Rāgiṇī", Coomara... *Rūpam, l.c.*, Fig. 3.

84 (*page* 160). See Appendix, Catalogue of the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, pp. .

85 (*page* 160). Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pls. LX and XII.

86 (*page* 160). H. Glueck, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Hæmzæ Romanes.*

87 (*page* 160). Cf. M. Lalou, *Iconographie des Etoffes Peintes dans le Mañjuśrīmūlaka...* , p. 27, etc.

88 (*page* 160). Besides this painting, two more canvases of a large scale are in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, see Pls. XXII, XXIII, and Catalogue, No. 2. Some smaller fragments too are preserved in this collection in Hyderābād.

89 (*page* 167). Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, Pl. 16, Fig. 45. The figures of the retinue have the jāma' fastened on the left, those of Pls. XVI-XVII, on the right; the former would be Hindus, the later Muslims.

90 (*page* 167). Martin, *Miniature painting of Persia, India and Turkey*, Pl. 208.

91 (*page* 168). Reproduced in colour, Kühnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 124, which must also be assigned to Golconda painting, after 1650. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, *l.c.*

92 (*page* 168). *Bachhofer*, *op. cit.*, Pls. 48, 50.

93 (*page* 168). Prepared symptomatically by paintings as in Elūrā.

94 (*page* 168). The portraits of 'Abdu'llah Quṭb Shāh with halo and of Tānā Shāh, one in three-quarter view, the other in profile are conventional. Tānā Shāh appears without a halo.

95 (*page* 168). In Mughal paintings, however, the group consists of single portraits.

96 (*page* 172). There is a leafy scroll border on top, and a crenellated border at the bottom, of the Quṭb Shāhī type of contemporary architecture. The shape of the casket is baroque; the two narrow sides bulge with irregular curvatures and the straight top and bottom of the box have the outline of a broad jar. The top surface shows a woman reclining on a bed similar in motif and accoutrements to a painting also from Hyderābād, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; H. Goetz, Kostüm und Mode an den indischen Fürstenhöfen in der Groszmoghul-Zeit, *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, Pl. 37,

Fig. 18) ; there is also a very faintly visible painting on a small scale on the Uchayappa Maṭha at Ānegundi. The young prince bends down a branch of a tree on the right ; on the left an attendant woman.

The bottom of the casket is rich with heavy floral arabesques similar to flowers on painted and printed calicoes ; cf. G. P. Baker, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies.*

On the two curved sides a 'Watteau-esque' atmosphere melts Deccani and Western components. A young man, seated on a rock dressed in the Western fashion of the day, plays flute ; antelopes graze and listen and a tree droops langorous branches. The corresponding painting on the other side is rich with the flowers of spring ; a girl bends down a branch of another tree, cranes stalk about and watch her.

The perfect blending in this painted casket of all the factors includes contemporary fashions from East and West, the latter of the flute player, the former displayed with entrancing distinction by all the other figures. Re. Deccani costumes cf. Goetz, *Bilderatlas sur Kulturgeschichte Indiens*, p. 21 and also by the same author, La Peinture Indienne, Les écoles du Dekkan, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, tome XIII, pp. 279-80.

97 (*page* 172). Bulletin of the Detroit Museum, VII, p. 90.

98 (*page* 172). Catalogue, p. 198, footnote.

99 (*page* 172). A portrait with a poem on the enthronement of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh is mentioned by Goetz, Indian miniatures, *Eastern Art*, II, p. 161.

100 (*page* 175). Cf. H. Goetz : Een belangrijk indisch miniaturenalbum in het Rijksprentenkabinet te Amsterdam, *Maandblad vor Beeldende Kunsten*, 1934, figures on pp. 311–313 ; Notes on a collection of historical portraits from Golconda, *Indian Art and Letters*, 1936, Pls. I and II are representative of the last years of Quṭb Shāh painting.

101 (*page* 175). Their numbers are : Screen Nos. 1, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 37, 40, one of them unduly often reproduced, Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 54, Strzygowski, etc. has hitherto been assigned various dates, all of them too early, cf. Goetz. The jāma', for inst. in painting No. 30, is of late Abu'l-Ḥasan Shāhī cut. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, p. 26.

102 (*page* 176). The type remained valid in portraits from Hyderābād.

103 (*page* 176). See Appendix, Catalogue of the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, p. 194.

Two illustrations of the early eighteenth century from a manuscript in Chester Beatty's collection, cf. Binyon, Relation between Rajput and Mughal painting, Rūpam No. 29, Figures 4 and 5 which are dated "1605". Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Pl. LXXII, p. 73. The subject of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī was especially near to these painters. See also Goetz, Bilderatlas, *op. cit.*, Fig. 38.

104 (*page* 176). Mehta, Studies in Indian painting, Pls. 12 and 13 measuring each over 6 × 3 ft.

A craftsman from Jaipur, Bhojrāj, decorated in the eighteenth century the Shanwar Wada, the palace of the Peshwas in Poona. D. Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

105 (*page* 176). See note 112.

106. Private collections in Hyderābād have a number of miniatures of this phase. They repeat the features of the school.

107 (*page* 183). In the collection of Aga Hyder Hasan Mirzā, Hyderābād, the visit of a nobleman to a saint; re. Poona, cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. LXV, p. 142, probably from Poona, and painted by a Deccani hand; from Ahmadābād is a painting of the late seventeenth century, cf. Percy Brown, p. 76, Pl. XIV, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1936.

108 (*page* 183). Cf. Goetz, *Geschichte der indischen Miniaturenmalerei*, Pl. 4; and several paintings in the collection, F. Lewis, *op. cit.*

109 (*page* 183). British Museum, Or. 9700.

110 (*page* 183). British Museum, Or. 2787; the collection, it is stated, took twenty-nine years.

111 (*page* 183). The inscription is a later addition.

112 (*page* 183). The subject of this painting is frequently repeated, cf. collection, F. Lewis, Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1923-24, Frontispiece; another copy is in the collection of Nawāb Sālār Jung, a fourth in the Hyderābād Museum. A similar composition of the same subject painted in the style of Jodhpur towards the end of eighteenth century is in the collection of B. N. Treasurywala, Bombay.

This type of painting has its antecedents in Hyderābād, cf. O. C. Gangoly, A portrait of a court lady from Hyderābād, Rūpaṃ, 1920, p. 16, which dates from the end of the seventeenth century.

113 (*page* 183). Sholāpur and Shorāpur contributed paintings. Sholāpur is in the Bombay Presidency, Shorāpur in Gulbarga District.

114 (*page* 184). P. 14; *Catalogue of Hindustani MSS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

115 (*page* 184). Or. 11368, the illumination reproduced appears on p. 285. Mr. Wilkinson kindly translated the relevant portions of the text.

116 (*page* 184). *Persian Miniature Painting*, *op. cit.*, Pl. [illegible]IIa.

The illustration of the *Akhlāk-i-Nāṣiri*, are inserted anywhere into the written page, sometime they encroach on the lower margin and are always well spaced. The figures are outlined first with red, sketchily drawn over with black, and the colours are warm and strong with terra-cotta yellow, dark brown, vermilion, a deep green and also a light blue. Shrubs and foliage are brushed on without outline.

The size of the present illustration, fol. 285, is (4′1″×2′9″). In other illustrations of this manuscript the human figures with scant rudiments of Mughal versatility are translated in terms of surface keen with movement into which fit their peaked profiles of perfect visibility.

117 (*page* 184). Kramrisch; Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, p. 114.

118 (*page* 184). The Turkish element has impressed its form on the Baghdad school, as well as on Indian painting, at various phases.

119 (*page* 185). Re. siyāhī qalam drawings of the seventeenth century relieved by dull green and transparent pink, the golden ornaments treated in the manner of sixteenth century Deccani work, cf. Johnson collection, India Office Library, Vol. XXII, Pls. 11 and 14. Deccani paintings are scattered in many collections; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 152 is another version from Hyderābād of an allied subject as Pl. XXIV, 1.

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